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FIG. 1—Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: The Eastern Gate of the Kien-Chu Pass; Chinese Tomb Sculpture

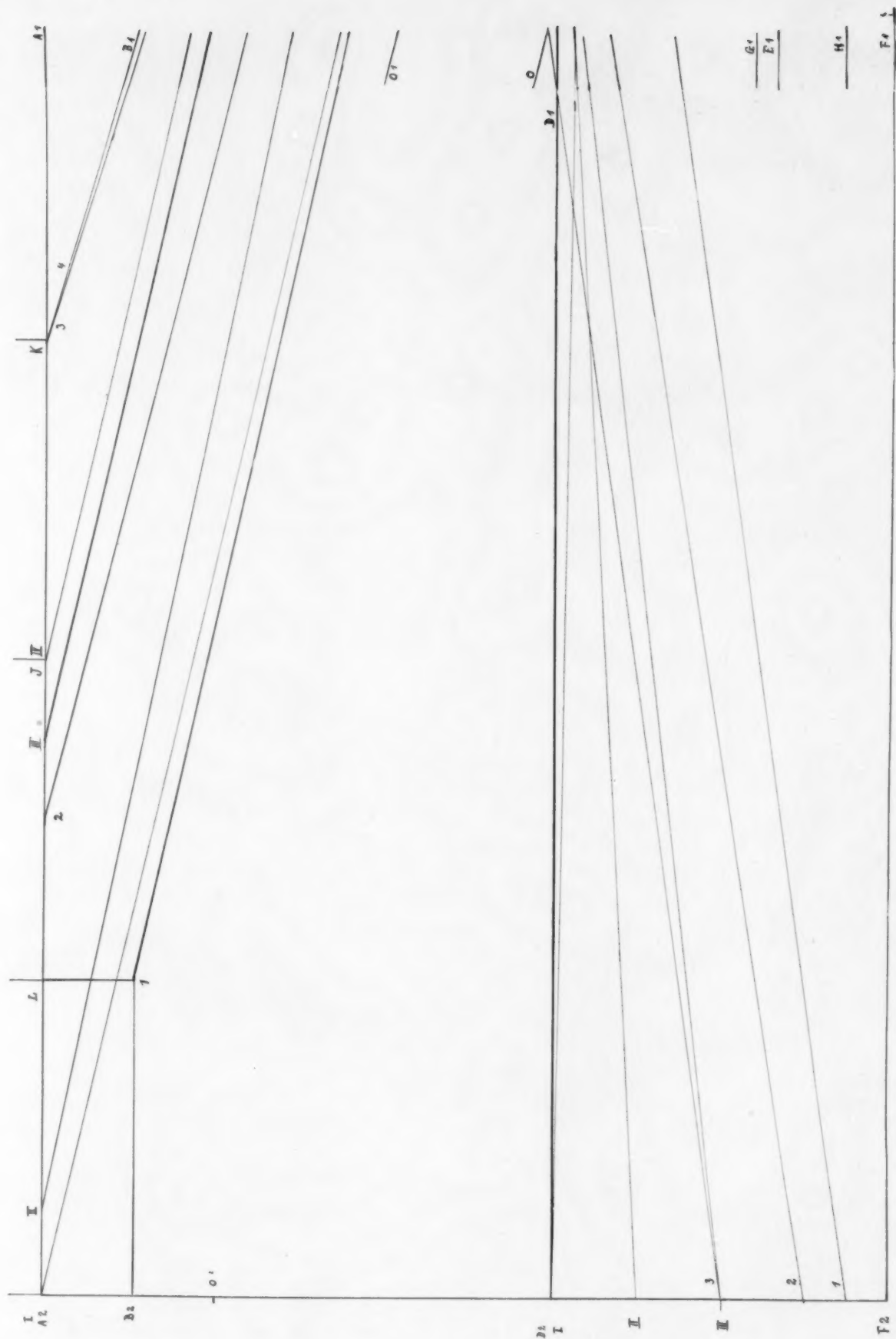


FIG. 2.—Diagram Showing the Extension of Oblique Lines in Fig. 1.



THE EASTERN GATE OF THE KIEN-CHU PASS

By WILFRID H. WELLS

A Hair perhaps divides the False and True;
Yes; and a single Alif were the clue—
Could you but find it—to the Treasure-house,
And peradventure to THE MASTER too;

The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam,
Fitzgerald's Version.

THE Eastern Gate of the Kien-chu Pass, or, as the official label puts it, "A Tomb Sculpture, Han," is an engraving on a slab of stone now in the Boston Museum. It measures 145×93.5 cc. and 13.5 cc. in thickness.¹ It is so faintly incised that a rubbing is impracticable, and the comparative clearness of the official photograph could only be obtained after dusting the incisions with a white powder.²

Even now, however, it must be remarked that there are three degrees of clearness to be observed (Fig. 1). The left border is indecipherable but can hardly have been blank originally; in fact, one can just see the ghost of a standing figure to the left of the top zone. The top border is clearer. The rest of the picture, at some time in the past, may have been refreshed with a graver's tool. The hesitating way in which the details of the geometrical pattern in the right border are executed suggests that the graver had to fumble for lines that were almost or entirely obliterated. The whole bears the marks of rough usage, and we must reckon with the possibility that even the part which is occupied by the zones may at one time have been in the condition of the top or even the left-hand border. The back of the stone is covered with a geometrical pattern.

The top border contains hunting scenes. The top and middle zones contain scenes from family life. The bottom zone has given its name to the whole, but the right reading of the name of the pass is uncertain, and the content of the scene is rather conjectural.³

The relief dates, apparently, from Han or slightly later times, but some doubts have been felt about its authenticity.⁴ In what follows, the perspective principles of a picture of rather later date, the Ku K'ai-chih Roll in the British Museum,⁵ have been used to throw light on the problem.

If the analogy is to hold good (1) the Eastern Gate must be based on simple proportions, and (2) the oblique depth lines must be drawn to obvious cardinal points either on the edge of the picture or of a projected diagram of proportionate size, and not drawn as they would appear to a fixed spectator on an elevation. If this is the case, we must conclude that the perspective scheme (and consequently the intention) is not three-dimensional, but geo-

1. For this and a detailed description of the engraving see Chavannes, in *Ars Asiatica*, II, 1914, and in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 1914, XIII, No. 78.

2. I have worked with a 59 cm. enlargement of this photograph, supplied by the Museum.

3. Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-7. The name is on one of the cartouches.

4. Otto Fischer, *Chinesische Malerei der Han Dynastie*, Berlin 1931, p. 66: "Man hat sie (die Platte) als eine Fälschung erklären wollen, dazu scheint uns aber keinerlei Grund vorzuliegen."

5. Ku K'ai-chih lived through the second half of the fourth century. The picture may be by him or a contemporary master, or it may be a sixth century copy; and it seems to have been worked over, later.

For a working hypothesis of the principles involved I must refer the reader to my *Perspective in Early Chinese Painting*, Edward Goldston, Ltd. London, 1935, pp. 9-37; for the present engraving, pp. 29-31; and for the Ku K'ai-chih Roll, pp. 41-62.

metrical, symmetrical, or decorative, in spite of the three-dimensional impression made by the picture. There is, in fact, no suitable descriptive word, for the treatment is peculiarly Chinese. A principle is thus involved which is of fundamental importance.

I will take ratios of the parts first, trying various simple fractions of the length. The measurements given by Chavannes are not helpful, but if we start from the lower edge of the top border towards the right (B), half the length of the stone reaches down to the bottom of the geometrical pattern, to E. A 1:2 ratio is thus established, but applies to the picture space, not to the depth of the stone.

The lower edge has evidently been broken off violently, and we can risk the assumption that the original bottom edge was lower even than the present extreme point on the left. Accordingly, if we assume that the original depth of the stone was in a 2:3 ratio to the length, the bottom edge would lie along the line F-F₁. In the original this would be at a distance of 96.6 cm., instead of 93.5 cm., from the top of the stone, and would leave space between E and F for a border of the same depth as the top border and a little more. This extra space may have been filled up with a geometrical pattern, and the direction of the hammer strokes suggests that this, or some other part of the border, was raised.⁶

That the bottom edge was originally at F-F₁ is perhaps indicated by the fact that the middle corner of the middle roof of the left tower is halfway between A-A₁ and F-F₁. Moreover, D, on the right, is three-fifths from A and two-fifths from F. This, in turn, explains the otherwise very puzzling fact that the lowest part of the geometrical pattern (D-E) is longer than either of the two parts of equal length above it (C-B and C-D). The explanation is that the artist took his 3:2 ratio in fifths at D(A-D-F) and then, starting from B this time, divided B-D into two halves at C. At the same time it gives us a useful hint that the unit of measurement will be some fraction of the length divided by five.

This conflicts, however, with the vertical proportions of the rough and smooth surfaces. The demarcation on the left is very irregular, and the base lines of the zones slant considerably from the horizontal. But if we measure down the middle of the picture, we find that the distance from the base line of the top border (B-B₁) to the base line of the top zone (C-C₁) is equal to the distance from C-C₁ to the base line of the middle zone (roughly D-D₁), and to the distance from this base line of the middle zone to the base line of the bottom zone (G-G₁).

The artist, however, has left two smooth strips in between, and the result is that we get two equal roughened surfaces (the bottom and middle zones) and a rather larger top zone. The whole is an orderly and intelligible arrangement. If we now measure downwards from the bottom base line at G, we find that a border of the same depth as the top border would bring us to the actual (average) edge of the stone, here marked H-H₁; which is also satisfactory.⁷

But how does the geometrical pattern fit into this scheme? It clashes with it at both D and E. As will be shown again when we come to the oblique lines, this pattern must be taken seriously.

6. These simple ratios occur so often that we can assume that they were a matter of routine. Before beginning to draw, the artist probably mapped out his picture space into a checker board of squares. For the diagram a few simple measurements sufficed.

7. G₁ marks the point where the roughened surface would stop on the left, if it were at the same height there as on the right. This point, G₁, must be insisted on, because it is of importance later. The reason why the bottom edge of the roughened surface slopes down towards the left is simple. The artist had to have his proportions, but he had also to adapt himself to existing facts. He has done

this very cleverly; but three features in the original picture resisted all attempts at reconciliation with his new scheme, the "Phoenix" on the left tower, which projects into his top smooth strip, the chariot wheel at the bottom, and the horseman on the left. In the second case he had to draw his bottom line with a strong downward slope towards the left, in order not to cut away part of the wheel. Similarly with the border on the left. He began at the top with a border as broad as the top border is deep, but had to narrow it at the bottom, in order not to cut away the horseman on the left.

The answer is clear. We have two mutually disturbing schemes of proportion, one reaching down to what there is reason to believe was the original bottom edge of the stone, the other reaching down to its existing edge.

The question which is the older is easily decided. No one who has, say, 23 vertical units of picture space at this disposal will plan his proportions as if he had 24. But if this last unit of the original surface has been broken off, a new artist working on the same picture will make his arrangements accordingly. The B-E-F scheme is therefore older than the B-G-H, which means that the picture was not originally divided into smooth and roughened surfaces. The roughened surfaces are a later addition; and they were added after the bottom edge had been broken off, when the picture had already fallen on evil days.

In addition, the two schemes of proportion give us a criterion by which to judge the authenticity of some other parts of the picture. If they conform to the B-E-F canon, they were parts of the original picture; if they are only in accordance with the B-G-H scheme, they are later additions.

I turn, now, to the lateral proportions. As I shall show, the extreme left line of the geometrical pattern is a later addition. It is true, if we examine the edge of the stone closely, that we see a second line to the right of the pattern, though now it is almost entirely obliterated; and there is a certain plausibility for the early date of the extreme left line, for then the whole border is as broad as the top border is deep, and in each case we get a border one-fourteenth of the total length of the stone.

But the horizontal lines that cross the pattern at important points (C and D) do not cross the space between the extreme left line and the next; the extreme left line cuts through the first floor of the tower, and cramps the tower uncomfortably; and a one-fifteenth distance occurs so frequently that it was undoubtedly some simple multiple of the unit of measurement employed.

If, for instance, we take one-fifteenth as our unit of measurement, and measure from F-F1, $3\frac{1}{2}$ units bring us to the right-hand tip of the first-floor roof of the right-hand tower, $4\frac{1}{2}$ units to the right-hand tip of the second floor, $5\frac{1}{2}$ units to the extreme top of the roof ridge, and another $4\frac{1}{2}$ units (from this point) to the top of the stone. This interpretation, if correct, would help confirm the hypothesis that the original bottom edge of the stone was at F-F1.⁸

As regards the left-hand border, there is not much evidence concerning it. The story space may have reached to the edge of the stone, but, in my opinion, it seems rather that there was originally a border based on a one-fifteenth unit. In the top border the extra depth perhaps was intended to balance the extra depth at the bottom; or there may simply have been a protective margin at the top.

If we now take the building as a whole, and three important verticals, the nearest upright of the right-hand tower (marked R on the top edge of the stone) the nearest upright of the left-hand tower, Q, and the edge of the ground floor, P, we find that (measuring from the right) the distance A-R is a trifle less than R-Q, and R-Q again is rather less than Q-P, the top point in the rather sloping edge of the ground floor; but that the top of this sloping edge is exactly half-way between the right-hand edge of the stone and the right-hand edge of the blank border on the left. We have been conducted to this middle point in three measured strides, each only a little longer than the one before. The two towers and the ground floor seem therefore to be parts of a tectonic scheme.

8. The length of the stone (145 cm.) divided by 75 (15×5) gives us 1.93 cm. The unit of measurement in the Ku K'ai-chih Roll is 1.92 cm. I have kept to the larger unit (one-fifteenth); but if I have to use halves, it must be

remembered that this unit is very large indeed. In the original it would be nearly ten centimeters. When points tally even with halves, the very coarseness of the scale makes it the more convincing.

But we must now turn to the oblique lines. By "the oblique lines" are meant those which would be the (depth) gutter lines in a European building. Acting on the analogy of the Ku K'ai-chih Roll, I have constructed a diagram (Fig. 2) to be considered as if it were immediately to the left of Fig. 1. Of the same size as Fig. 1, it shows the points to which the oblique lines are directed.

The reader will probably feel incredulous, when he first sees it. To make the design more understandable let me say at once that these cardinal points are determined along the top line by dividing it into halves and quarters and, in case of need, dividing these into halves and quarters. The point D2 is at the same distance from A2 (three-fifths) as D from A; and the remaining vertical distance (D2-F2) has then been divided into halves and quarters like the top line. The reader will find it advisable to get a general idea of the symmetry of these arrangements by letting his glance run along the top and then the left edge of the diagram, noting the really cardinal points (the halves and quarters) and their subdivisions. He will then find that the arrangement is comparatively simple.

I take, first, the right-hand tower and its left-hand oblique lines (Fig. 1). If we extend the oblique line of the first story roof, we find that it runs up to A2 (Fig. 2) with astonishing precision. The oblique line of the roof ridge (IV) goes to J, half-way between A1 and A2; the third story roof to III, a point to the left of J (one-quarter of J-L); and the second story roof to II, a point to the right of A2 (one-quarter of A2-L).

The right-hand oblique line of the first story of the same tower rises to the true D2, rightly ignoring the false division made by the base line of the middle zone, which conflicts with D1, and has only been partially reconciled to D by drawing it at a slant. The corresponding lines of the second and third story roofs (II, III) cut D2-F2 in the ratio 1:1:2, reckoning from the top (D2).

Turning now to the left-hand tower and its right-hand oblique lines, we find that the oblique line of the top story roof runs to 3 (half-way between D2 and F2), where it meets the corresponding line of the right-hand tower; the second and first story roofs run to 2 and 1 respectively, and in the ratio 1:1:2, reckoning this time from the bottom.

The left-hand oblique line of the top story of the same tower (3) cuts the A1-A2 line at K, half-way between A1 and J, and, at K, meets an extension of the roof ridge of this tower (4). The second floor roof cuts the line at 2, half-way between J and L. The first floor roof cuts the B-B1-B2 line at 1, vertically below L, and L is half-way between A2 and J. It may seem a little strange that such an important line should have been oriented in this rather indirect manner, but L itself is an important point, as will be seen later.

In point of principle all this is what we find in the Ku K'ai-chih Roll, except that it is more mechanically done and consequently more complicated. It has nothing like the virtuosity of the latter picture.

If we examine the ground floor, we find that an extension of the earth line goes exactly to where an extension of the base line of the middle zone would cut the left edge of the stone (O), i.e., to a false terminus, because the division into rough and smooth surfaces was added later, and the real D1 is distinctly lower.

An extension of the line just above the earth line would, it is true, go to O on the far A2-F2 line, cutting it at something like one-fifteenth from A2. I should accept this, provided it was supported by the orientation of other lines of the same part of the building. But the earth line goes to a false terminus, and the roof line, the longest line in the building, goes quite unmistakably to O1, a point half-way between A1 and G1, and G1 is the false

bottom edge of the picture space;⁹ while the upper line of the roof goes nowhere in particular, at least it swerves too much to permit of any precise definition of its direction.

The roof of the ground floor must therefore be considered a later addition, contemporaneous with the division of the surface into rough and smooth. This is emphasized by the fact that the extreme tip on the left is half-way between the false bottom of the ground floor, made by the roughened surface, and the bottom of the smooth strip dividing the top from the middle zone, i.e., between two false termini. This leaves the possibility that there was some sort of a line originally where the earth line is now.

I am afraid we must approach this problem rather deviously, and the approach may be rather difficult to follow.

The building is such a complicated structure that almost any scale of measurement will tally with some features and no scale with them all. The reason for this lies in the manner in which it is constructed. For instance, the left tip of the roof ridge of the right-hand tower is $5\frac{1}{2}$ units (fifteenths of the length of the stone) from F-F1. If we draw a line from this point to L, it cuts the extreme tip of the left-hand tower.

This means that the height of the left-hand tower has not been determined by any measurement from F-F1, but by the slant of the line from the tip of the right-hand tower towards L, combined with a lateral measurement, namely where this slanting line would cut a vertical line drawn at $4\frac{1}{2}$ units from the right-hand edge of the stone. The consequence is that the tip of the left-hand tower is just a trifle under 6 units from F-F1. Without this explanation the deviation from an exact multiple of the unit is inexplicable. A direct vertical measurement makes no sense.

But another complicating factor must be reckoned with. The slanting lines in the plane of each roof are themselves, as far as can be seen, oriented towards cardinal points on the edges of the stone, or along the F-F2 line.

These lines are short and in many cases indistinct, and we must always remember that they may have been lost in the process of roughening the surface. I have therefore preferred to delay their consideration. But they seem to be oriented on the same principle, and, consequently, in their course downwards or upwards, bring the gutter lines to an arbitrary end, that is to say, at points not explained by simple vertical or lateral measurements.

I take some instances from the right-hand tower, where they are most easily checked.

The right-hand tip of the first floor roof is fixed laterally by the edge of the geometrical pattern.¹⁰ Vertically it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ units from F-F1. Since the gutter line rises towards D2, the middle corner must be a trifle over $3\frac{1}{2}$ units from F-F1.¹¹

Again, the rightmost sloping line of the same roof, if prolonged, goes to M, a recognizably cardinal point, half-way between D and E. Consequently, the end of the floor line¹² above it must be fixed where a line drawn from M would pass through the tip of the roof and be cut by a checker-board horizontal line at 4 units from F-F1. And from this point a line has been drawn towards 2 on the far A2-F2 line, thus determining the right-hand floor line of the second story.

Or, again, the right-hand tip of the right-hand floor of the top story of the right-hand

9. Actually the artist had to slant his bottom edge down below this point to avoid cutting the wheel of the chariot. But G1 is at the same distance from A1 as G from A. The difficulty evidently occurred at the last moment.

10. By the edge of the geometrical pattern the last line but one on the left is meant, not the extreme left line, which has been condemned.

11. I must remind the reader that the unit of measurement is very large, and that the artist probably prepared his paper or silk by constructing a checker-board pattern of lateral and vertical lines.

12. I have omitted the floor lines in general, in order not to complicate the matter too much, but they seem to have been drawn on the same principle.

tower is at $1\frac{1}{4}$ units from the geometrical pattern, but at no understandable distance from F-F1. From N, half-way between M and D, a line has been drawn through the line of the second story roof (thereby determining the length of this roof arbitrarily) to where it would cut a line drawn from F2 through the middle corner point of the third floor, which is itself fixed at $5\frac{1}{2}$ units from F-F1 and $1\frac{3}{4}$ units from the geometrical pattern.

The top story is determined by similar considerations, and, perhaps, it was a mixture of all these factors which has made the floor of this story project so remarkably beyond the structure erected on it. The sloping line of this top story goes to D (3). The sloping line of the second story is, I think, an example of a subsequent alteration. To make it go to N, we have to draw the line through the tip of the oblique gutter line, which projects rather beyond the last visible sloping line.

The second artist, confronted by all these complications, cut the Gordian knot. Noticing that the depth of the top border was one-fourteenth of the length of the stone, he adopted it as his standard of measurement for his major proportions. He added an extra line on the left of the geometrical pattern to make it as broad as the top border is deep; and he began to draw a border of the same breadth on the left, till he was checked by the horseman in the bottom zone, and had to compromise.

Laterally, the point where the left edge of the ground floor joins the roof line is $5\frac{1}{2}$ new units (fourteenths) from the leftmost (false) edge of the geometrical pattern, and, vertically, 2 new units from the bottom of the roughened surface.¹³ The most important point, however, is where the edge of the larger gateway cuts the bottom of the roughened surface, and where the earth line of the building does the same. This point is $3\frac{1}{2}$ fourteenths from the false edge of the geometrical pattern. The slope of the earth line has been determined by drawing a line from this point to where an extension of the base line of the middle zone cuts the edge of the slab.

Having fixed his major proportions in this way, he returned to what was probably the standard measurement of his time and therefore the natural one for him to use; but he measured from termini which he had himself created. The top point of the roof (the line which leads nowhere) is $2\frac{1}{2}$ fifteenths from the bottom of the roughened surface; the edge of the larger gate (not the gateway) is $4\frac{1}{2}$ fifteenths from the false edge of the geometrical pattern; and quite a lot of the other vertical lines seem to tally with one-fifteenth measurements taken from this false left edge.

It is impossible, however, to speak definitely about this last mentioned point, because the lines are out of the perpendicular. To my mind there is something intentional about the slant of these lines. It reminds one of the gradually increasing strides with which we are taken from the right edge of the stone to the left edge of the building, which also bear the mark of conscious but not necessarily ill-meant deception.

It should be noted, too, that in consequence of the manner in which the towers are constructed, the middle corners can seldom fall perpendicularly under each other (nor the respective stories of the two towers be exactly alike), and the irregularity of the vertical lines may have been a necessary consequence of this. In the case of the ground floor, however, there is not this excuse. What probably animated the second artist was a general idea that he must make the ground floor harmonize with the inconsistencies of the rest.

The roughened surfaces, then, the left edge of the geometrical pattern, and the ground floor, hang together unmistakably, and must be condemned as later additions; and these

13. It must be emphasised that this terminus is doubly false. In the first place the G-G1 boundary is a later conception, and, secondly, this line has been sloped down-

wards to avoid cutting off the lower part of the chariot wheel. I am measuring here from the actual bottom of the roughened surface directly below the points mentioned.

additions were made after the bottom edge of the stone had been broken off. To these we must perhaps add the horses in the gateway.

There is no reason, however, to doubt the authenticity of the rest of the bottom zone. The chariot bears clear marks of authenticity. The right tip of the canopy is six (old) units from the inner (correct) line of the geometrical pattern. It is itself 2 units broad, and the body of the chariot is $1\frac{1}{4}$ units across. In addition it might be mentioned that the middle oblique line of the tray, or whatever it should be called, seems to be directed towards J; and in the Ku K'ai-chih Roll it is just this middle line of the palanquin tray which is directed towards a cardinal point. The authenticity of the horseman on the left is vouched for by the fact that the second artist had to deviate from the perpendicular in order not to cut him away.¹⁴

Some remarks about the top zone may be of interest. Short lines are of questionable use, but the extreme left-hand oblique line of the chariot in this zone runs clearly along an imaginary line drawn from B1 to E. This and the line of the lower chariot indicate that, even here, the direction of the oblique lines has been determined geometrically and does not postulate the point of view of a fixed spectator on an elevation. The left-hand oblique line of the altar is crooked, and the sloping line leading from the circular opening to the right-hand corner does not meet the corner. Something unusual has happened here, and no conclusions can be drawn from the altar which would invalidate the principles stated above.

It should be noted, however, that the right-hand oblique line of the tray to the right of the altar clearly cuts the left edge of the stone just where the (false) H-H1 line does, allowing, too, for the fact that the lower part of this edge has been somewhat effaced. The tray is questionable for another reason too, because the end is presented cornerways, while the front of the altar runs horizontally. The tray can be added to the list of later additions.

There are, therefore, a considerable number of accretions which we must think away before we can get an idea of the original picture, but there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the picture, as a whole. The very fact that it was constructed on these ancient principles is a powerful argument in favor of its having originated in the period to which general stylistic considerations lead us to assign it—the second or third century of our era. In a sense, too, the accretions themselves may be authentic, that is to say, they may be many centuries old. On the other hand, the general effect intended and produced by the alterations is one which suits a considerably later period than that to which the original picture is assigned. A good many centuries must have passed before such scenic effects were common, and the new features introduced do not suggest that the second artist was anything more than a man of considerable ingenuity.

A consideration of the perspective has thus led to some definite results. It may not have enabled us to find THE MASTER. That was perhaps foredoomed from the first, for there is something a little stereotyped about the grouping of the figures. On the other hand, time and the restorer may have buried his work too deep. Let us give him the benefit of the doubt. At least one blot has been removed from his reputation. No one will regret the passing of that hideous ground floor.

14. But in introducing the new features the second artist, in all probability, was obliged to refresh the rest of the picture, to make new and old look contemporaneous. Hence

the original artist can not be held wholly responsible for the line-work of the figures.

THE COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE OF MINAS GERAIS IN BRAZIL*

By ROBERT C. SMITH, JR.

OF ALL the former European colonies in the New World it was Brazil that most faithfully and consistently reflected and preserved the architecture of the mother-country. In Brazil were never felt those strange indigenous influences which in Mexico and Peru produced buildings richer and more complicated in design than the very models of the peninsular Baroque.¹ Brazil never knew the exigencies of a new and severe climate necessitating modifications of the old national architectural forms, as in the French and English colonies of North America, where also the early mingling of nationalities produced a greater variety of types of construction. And the proof of this lies in the constant imitation in Brazil of the successive styles of architecture in vogue at Lisbon and throughout Portugal during the colonial period.² From the first establishments at Iguarassú³ and São Vicente⁴ down to the last constructions in Minas Gerais, the various buildings of the best preserved colonial sites in Brazil—at São Luiz do Maranhão,⁵ in the old Bahia,⁶ and the earliest Mineiro⁷ towns—are completely Portuguese. Whoever would study them must remember the Lusitanian monuments of the period, treating Brazil

* The findings here published are the result in part of researches conducted in Brazil in 1937 under the auspices of the *American Council of Learned Societies*.

1. In Brazil I know of only two religious monuments which can be clearly related to the contemporary Spanish colonial style. They are without doubt the work of some monastic architect of Hispanic origin. The first is the magnificent façade of the church of the Venerável Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco in the city of Salvador, constructed in 1703. The large statues of St. Francis and other saints of his order are there located in niches of the most extravagant Churrigueresque form, with twisted columns in a veritable forest of exuberant tropical vegetation. The old church of N. S. do Carmo (Pernambuco), the second example, now abandoned and menaced with ruin, was, with its handsome *cruzeiro*, built in 1720. It shows the Spanish system of construction to perfection. The two lateral towers are more robust than those used in Portuguese architecture and are encumbered by weighty cornices placed to interrupt their verticality. The portal of the principal façade is designed in the form of a retable of classic taste in the pure tradition of Juan de Herrera. Less certainly of Spanish inspiration is the door of the small *ermida* of N. S. dos Navegantes, 1710, on the Itapagipe shore of Salvador, which is of an unusual plaster rustication and is crowned with complicated reliefs of rich vegetable forms.

Another monument which might be included in the same category of Spanish colonial influence is the grandiose portal of the former Solar Saldanha in Salvador (Rua Guedes de Brito, no. 14). The great nude gigantes of richly sculptured stone which support the heavy cornice of this former private palace are conceived according to the weighty taste of the seventeenth century Italian Baroque, much imitated in Spain and her colonies. But the iconography of the doorway appears to be Portuguese. Gigantes similar to these appear on the fine Manueline portal of the small church of Arruda dos Vinhos (Estremadura Portu-

guesa), circa 1527.

2. The Brazilian colonial period extends from the year of the discovery, 1500, until the establishment of the first Brazilian empire in 1822.

3. Founded in 1535 by the Portuguese Duarte Coelho, this town in Pernambuco possesses a remarkable parish church, traditionally considered the oldest in Brazil, which, in spite of tremendous subsequent reconstructions, still shows its original Manueline proportions. For a seventeenth century view of this church see the painting by Frans Post in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (cat. no. 1908) or the closely related etching in Gaspar Barlaeus' *Rerum per octenium in Brasilia*. . . (Amsterdam, 1647), pl. no. 9.

4. Another early establishment, founded in 1532 on the coast south of Rio de Janeiro, near the present city of Santos, which has absorbed it. It is now a part of the modern state of S. Paulo.

5. S. Luiz, the capital of the state of Maranhão, is the first great city on the coast below Pará. Founded by the French in the seventeenth century (Antonio Batista Barbosa de Godois, *História do Maranhão*, 2 vols., S. Luiz, 1904), the city enjoyed a period of great wealth in the eighteenth and nineteenth, before the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. For a brief attempt to evoke its picturesque past see my article *São Luiz do Maranhão* in the first issue of *The Pan American Traveler*.

6. "Bahia" is used throughout this paper only in reference to the state and former *capitania* of that name rather than, as is often done, to its capital, the city of Salvador, founded by Tomé de Sousa in 1549. The same distinction will be made here between the state of Pernambuco and its capital Recife, and the state of Pará and its capital Belém.

7. The inhabitants of Minas Gerais (The General Mines) are referred to as miners (*mineiros*) in Portuguese. I have applied the masculine form of this adjective arbitrarily throughout this paper.

as a larger architectural province of Portugal, examining with care the innumerable links which have always bound the architecture of the two countries into a single Portuguese-Brazilian style.⁸

The architecture of Portugal during the eighteenth century followed two main currents. On the one hand was the tradition of the court at Lisbon and Evora in the south, a foreign tradition built up by generations of imported Italian architects which was to culminate in the reign of Dom João V (1689-1749),⁹ and on the other hand the native Portuguese tradition, which at this period had evolved a specific rural interpretation of the contemporary Baroque style. This essentially national tradition is particularly associated with the north of Portugal, where the cities of Oporto, Braga, Viseu, Guimarães, Lamego, and Viana do Castelo maintained local schools of architecture in varying degrees of regional independence.¹⁰

It was the court tradition which made itself felt in the coast towns of colonial Brazil. Salvador, until the year 1763 the viceregal capital of the colony, was naturally the center of artistic intercourse with the metropolis of the mother-country; its architecture throughout the first half of the eighteenth century follows most closely the contemporary style of Lisbon. Indeed, the Bahians often imported their architecture directly from the capital, as in 1735, when the Portuguese merchants of the town commissioned their new church of the Conceição da Praia not only to be designed but practically to be built in Lisbon.¹¹ The *pedra de lioz*, a stone resembling Istrian marble, characteristic of the region about the Portuguese capital, was cut directly at Lisbon. The marbles of the interior were assembled there as well as the rich fittings of the chapels and sacristies. The arrangement of the façade reflects in minor scale the vast royal convent of Mafra, which was then abuilding near Lisbon, while the details of the structure are full of the Austro-Italian mannerisms of the court architect Ludovice and his circle. To a lesser extent the cities of Pernambuco, Recife, and Olinda to the north,¹² and Belém,¹³ the metropolis of the Amazon, embody this same tenacious borrowing from monuments at the Portuguese court. In fact the tradition was to become so strong along the coast as to discourage the development of creole architects and artisans.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century Rio de Janeiro, the new viceregal capital, took over the Bahian hegemony and rapidly became the center in Brazil for the Italianate court style. In 1755 a disastrous earthquake had all but destroyed the city of Lisbon, and

8. And in a wider sense Brazilian colonial architecture is but one link in an immense Lusitanian chain that includes the mid-Atlantic Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde and other African islands, the continental African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, Goa in India, and Macao in southern China. The important plea that future studies of any part of this body of architecture should tend to emphasize the unity of style within the corpus has recently been made by the distinguished Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (*Sugestões para o estudo da arte brasileira em relação com a de Portugal e das colônias*, in *Revista do serviço do patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional*, I, no. 1, 1937, pp. 41-45).

9. The history of this court tradition in the so-called Joanine period of the first half of the eighteenth century was discussed by me in *João Frederico Ludovice an Eighteenth Century Architect in Portugal*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 273-370.

10. This tradition has not yet been thoroughly studied.

11. William Hadfield relates that the masonry came in numbered parts from Lisbon (*Brazil, the River Plate, and the Falkland Islands, with Sketches by Sir W. Gore Ouseley*

K.C.B., London, 1854, p. 126).

12. These two cities, of which Olinda, founded just after Iguarassú, was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the more distinguished, are remarkable for their rich monastic architecture. The convents of S. Francisco in the two towns, that of N. S. do Carmo at Recife and that of S. Bento at Olinda (1763), as well as the Recife churches of Sto. Antônio, Cruz dos Militares, and S. José are all reminiscent of the Portuguese court architecture.

13. The architecture of this delightful city, constructed almost entirely in the eighteenth century, was at this period compared favorably with that of Europe (*Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika vom Cudena [Pedro] ein spanisches Manuscript in der Wolfenbüttelschen Bibliothek herausgegeben vom Herrn Hofrath Lessing mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet von Christian Leiste . . . Brunswick, 1780, p. 82*), but it still awaits scholarly study. I have briefly described its Italianate cathedral (1720-1775) and the Palladian churches of Sta. Ana, S. João Batista, and N. S. das Mercês in my article *The Colonial Churches of Brazil* in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. LXXII, no. 1, Jan., 1938, pp. 1-8.

in the years immediately succeeding the town had been rebuilt by the royal minister Marquês de Pombal and his architects.¹⁴ The new Lisbon waterfront with its grandiose quays and palaces was soon reproduced by the viceroy Dom Luiz de Vasconcelos (1779-1790) at Rio,¹⁵ where the Bay of Guanabara provided even a grander setting than the Tagus at Lisbon.¹⁶ The Lisbon churches of the post-earthquake style, in whose doorways and interiors an attempt is made to subordinate rococo details to a scheme of elongated angular sobriety, find their counterparts in the new constructions at Rio. The motives of a sculptured medallion set in the pediment above a door, ever a popular device of formal Portuguese architecture since the beginning of the century, is found in the side portal¹⁷ of the Carmelite church at Rio de Janeiro. An Italianate Madonna, it is reminiscent of Giusti¹⁸ and was probably executed by his pupils at Mafra. In short, the new capital of Brazil was as Pombalian in its architectural preferences as the old had been Joanine in its tastes.

The essentially native Portuguese tradition, on the other hand, neglected but never

14. These men were: Carlos Mardel, d. 1763 (rebuilding of the *Palácio dos Estãos*, nave of S. Domingos, fountains of the *Rua do Século*, and *Rua da Esperança*, all at Lisbon, and the palace of the *marquês de Pombal* at Oeiras); Reinaldo Manoel dos Santos (rebuilding of the churches of S. Nicolau, and N. S. dos *Mártires*, 1769-84, laying out of the *Passeio Público do Rocio*, 1755-1764, co-planning of the *Basilica da Estrêla*, 1779-1790, all at Lisbon); Mateus Vicente de Oliveira, 1700-1786 (rebuilding of the church of Sto. Antônio da Sé and co-planning of the *Basilica da Estrêla*, both at Lisbon, and construction of a part of the royal palace at Queluz, 1758-1786); Manoel Caetano de Sousa, 1742-1802 (rebuilding of the church of S. José, construction of the palace of the *duques de Palmela* in the *Rua da Escola Politécnica*, the wooden palace [*paço velho*] of Ajuda, 1755-1794, and the tower of Ajuda, all at Lisbon). These men were really the pupils of Ludovice and his school of architecture and engineering at the palace of Mafra.

15. The main feature of the new square, the *Largo do Palácio ou Paço*, was a rich fountain erected in honor of Queen D. Maria I in 1785. The original arrangement, unlike that at Lisbon, has been much impaired by the modern rebuilding of the harbor. Another of the viceroy's civic accomplishments in imitation of those of Lisbon was the creation of the *Passeio Público* between the years 1779 and 1783. In it he was assisted by his right hand man, the distinguished sculptor *Mestre Valentim da Fonseca e Silva*. The *Promenade*, which included two pavilions and two pyramids, culminated in a grand cascade with cast-iron birds, alligators, and a palm tree, all in natural colors. So unusual was the result that it inspired the poem of Dr. Bartolomeo Antônio Cordovil, *Amfibios jacarés de agudo dente . . .* The *Promenade* was repeatedly damaged by the elements and in 1850 was entirely rebuilt in the present romantic style. The viceroy also directed the building of the dismantled fountain of *Marrêcas* in the *Rua das Belas-Noites*. See Moreira de Azevedo: *O Rio de Janeiro, sua história, monumentos, homens notáveis, usos e curiosidades*, Rio, 1877, pp. 447-463; and Anibal Mattos: *A obra de Mestre Valentim*, in *Arte colonial brasileira*, Belo Horizonte, 1936, pp. 122-147.

16. See lithograph by J.-B. Debret, entitled *Vue de la place du palais* is from his *Voyage pittoresque et historique ou séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement*, Paris, 1834, III, pl. 1. Debret was for a time *peintre particulier* to the Emperor D. Pedro I.

17. Perhaps the work of Luiz da Fonseca Rosa, who in 1768 contracted for the side door of the new church, begun in 1755 and formally blessed Jan. 14, 1761 (Moreira de Azevedo, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218). Nothing is known of Rosa's career.

18. Alessandro Giusti, born at Rome in 1715, died at Lisbon in 1799. The pupil of Sebastiano Conca and Giovanni Battista Maini, from whom he inherited the Bernini manner, he was the dominant figure in Portuguese official sculpture at the middle of the eighteenth century. First working at Rome upon the reliquary altar of that chapel of S. João Batista, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli, which was transported *in toto* to Lisbon (see *João Frederico Ludovice an Eighteenth Century Architect in Portugal*, pp. 352-362), he himself was called to the Portuguese capital in 1747. Shortly afterwards he was placed in charge of the atelier of sculpture at the new royal convent of Mafra. Working ostensibly to produce statues for the building, he produced a whole generation of Portuguese sculptors. Giusti's influence upon his scholars at Mafra was as profound and as beneficial as had been that of Ludovice and his designs at Mafra upon the generation of Pombalian architects. Aside from the statues for the royal convent, Giusti also worked at the great Theatine establishment in Lisbon, N. S. das *Necessidades* (four statues of the church façade, portrait bust of D. João V). In 1773 his career was cut short by blindness.

Outstanding among his pupils in Portugal was Joaquim Machado de Castro (1732-1822), a native of Coimbra, who is chiefly remembered for his great equestrian statue of D. José I, erected in the center of *Marquês de Pombal's* new Lisbon waterfront in 1775. He is the author of several figures at the *Basilica da Estrêla*, the tomb of D. Mariana de Austria at the church of S. João Nepomuceno (now destroyed save for the two lions preserved at the *Museu do Carmo* in Lisbon), the *presépio* of the *Igreja Patriarcal* (now at the *Museu da Sé de Lisboa*), the statues of the *baldaquino* of S. Vicente de fóra, Lisbon, the Christ of the chapel of the palace of the *Condes de Sabugosa* at Alcântara in Lisbon, three allegorical figures in the vestibule of the palace of Ajuda, numerous statues in the palace and grounds of the Pombal family at Oeiras, the tombs of D. Afonso IV and his queen at the Sé, that of D. Mariana Vitória in the church of S. Francisco de Paula, and the standing figure of D. Maria I at the *Biblioteca Nacional*.

Minor pupils of the Roman master were: José Antônio de Pádua, who executed the sculptures of the bridge of S. João Nepomuceno in 1743 (the statue of that saint is now at the *Museu do Carmo*), and the statues of the rebuilt *capela-mór* of the cathedral of Evora; José and Vicente Felix de Almeida, chiefly identified with woodcarving, particularly that of the royal coaches (*Museu dos Coches*, Belém), although José may have worked at the *Necessidades*, on the church façade and at the great fountain of the obelisk before the convent. To this group of Giusti's Mafra pupils may have belonged Luiz da Fonseca Rosa.

forgotten in the coastal cities, flourished in the interior *capitania* of Minas Gerais.¹⁹ This vast mountainous region, some three hundred miles inland from Rio de Janeiro, was in the eighteenth century a center of gold and diamond²⁰ mining whose importance in the New World could only be compared to the fabulous regions of Potosí and Mexico.²¹ Discovered at the end of the seventeenth century by pioneer adventurers whose *bandeiras*²² swept up the river valleys from São Paulo and Bahia, these mines poured out the wealth that was supporting the extravagant court at Lisbon²³ while financing at home a campaign of building that constitutes the major architectural development of colonial Brazil.

The civilization of Minas Gerais was a purely eighteenth century accomplishment. The "fabulous city" of the local poet Tomaz Antonio Gonzaga,²⁴ the "precious pearl of all Brazil" described by the Portuguese Simão Ferreira Machado,²⁵ the richest city in the world,²⁶ was the Vila Rica²⁷ of the mid-eighteenth century. "The sanctuaries into which

19. Established in 1710. The best history of colonial Minas Gerais is still the two volume work by Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Historia antiga das Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 1904, and his *Historia média de Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 1918. A recent book by the distinguished Mariana author, Salomão de Vasconcellos, describes the last days of the *capitania* (*O Fico*, Rio, 1938).

20. The mining of diamonds was confined to the distant region of Tijuco and the Serro Frio, now Diamantina. For a history of this district see: J. Felício dos Santos, *Memórias do districto diamantino da comarca do Serro Frio*, Rio, 1869.

21. For early scientific accounts of this mining see: José Antônio da Rosa, *Compendio das minas*, Lisboa, 1791; Virgil von Helmreichen zu Brunfeld, *Über das geognostische Vorkommen der Diamanten und ihre Gewinnungsmethoden auf der Serra do Grão-Mogor in Brasilien*, Wien, 1846.

22. The term "bandeira" is used in the Portuguese of Brazil to refer to the bands of pioneers who grouped themselves under one leader's flag to penetrate the interior. The members of these parties are called *bandeirantes*, and will be so denominated in this paper. The standard history of these expeditions is still Afonso de E. Taunay, *Historia geral das bandeiras paulistas*, S. Paulo, 1925-1929, 5 vols.

23. In 1755 the town of Mariana was assessed for payment of a large part of the cost of rebuilding the Lisbon churches destroyed by that year's earthquake.

24. *Marília de Dirceu*, Lyra XIX, ed. of Rio 1862, II, pp. 306-308. The unhappy poet of Vila Rica, the Portuguese-born Tomaz Antônio Gonzaga (1744—circa 1808), is remembered for his remarkably fine love poems addressed to his Brazilian *innamorata*, D. Maria Dorotéa Joaquina de Seixas, entitled *Marília de Dirceu*, and first published at Lisbon in 1792, and for his imprudent part in the patriotic conspiracy of Mineiro poets, the Inconfidência of 1789. He was removed from his judicial position at Vila Rica, arrested and imprisoned at Rio de Janeiro, and in 1792 exiled to the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, where he died. His ashes are said to have been returned to Vila Rica in 1937. For a short recent study of his life and work see: Augusto de Lima, Jr., *O amor infeliz de Marília de Dirceu*, Rio, 1936.

25. *Triumpho eucarístico exemplar da christandade lusitana em publica exaltação da Fé na solemne trasladação do divinissimo sacramento da igreja da Senhora do Rosario para um novo templo da Senhora do Pilar en Villa Rica corte da capitania das Minas aos 24 de maio de 1733* (Lisboa occidental, 1734), republication in *Revista do arquivo publico mineiro*, VI, 1901, p. 996.

26. The real opulence of this region was not generally known to the world at large in the eighteenth century. Since the exploitation and trade of Brazil were practically monopolies of the Portuguese Crown, and that Crown

during this period was a weak one, the court at Lisbon tried its best to keep the whole rich *capitania* its own carefully guarded secret. Thus the remarkably frank *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil por suas drogas e minas*, published at Lisbon in 1711 by the Bahian Jesuit João Antônio Andreoni (André João Antonil), was promptly suppressed by the Portuguese authorities and was not again available until the edition of Rio de Janeiro, 1838. Nothing more was published on Minas during the rest of the century either in Brazil (where no presses were tolerated) or in Portugal with the exception of the above mentioned religious tract. As a result the great French dictionaries, those universal repositories of the knowledge of the eighteenth century, reveal an almost total ignorance concerning the *capitania*, in particular, and Brazil in general. Thus the *Grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* etc. of Louis Moréri (edition of Paris, 1743) has only this to say under Brazil: *On y trouve quelques mines d'or* (IV, p. 708). The great *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et des métiers*, published at Geneva in 1778, says of Brazil: *Cette partie du nouveau monde est fort riche* (V, p. 478). There are discussions of the towns of Olinda, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro but none of Vila Rica or the other centers of Minas Gerais, which province is nowhere mentioned by name. In its discussion of mines this dictionary says of those of Brazil only the following: *On sait assez combien ce vaste pays de l'Amérique méridionale est fécond en mines de diamans, de rubis & de topazes* (XXI, pp. 880-882). There then follow full descriptions of the principal mines of Peru and New Spain.

As a result of this policy there were no foreign travelers in Minas during the eighteenth century, and none of those voyager's accounts of the country which were prepared at this time in relation to the seaports of Brazil. Indeed, John White, who visited Rio de Janeiro in 1787, wrote that it was impossible to get near the region of the mines. No passes were given out to foreigners for traveling in Minas, and the penalty for one caught doing so was slavery. "These circumstances," he continues, "made a trial to see them [the mines] without permission (and that permission I understand has never been granted the most favored foreigners) too dangerous to be attempted" (*Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, London, 1790, p. 65). When on the 17th of August, 1809, John Mawe and his companion Mr. Goodall set off for Vila Rica, the author of the *Mineralogy of Derbyshire* relates that "we set out on a journey which no Englishman had ever before undertaken, nor had any ever yet been permitted to pass the barrier of alpine mountains that stretch along the coast" (*Travels in the Interior of Brazil particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of that Country*, London, 1812, p. 141). When Alexander Caldcleugh was in Minas thirteen

countless treasuries are destined to be poured"²⁸ were all completed in that period and the town of Ribeirão do Carmo, renamed Mariana²⁹ for the then queen of Portugal, was raised to the episcopal dignity.³⁰ But the prodigious wealth of the region, which at first had seemed inexhaustible,³¹ was not long-lived. When in 1815 the great church of the Senhora da Bôa Morte³² was completed at Barbacena, the Mineiros were no longer planning the vast constructions of the century before. Minas Gerais was already sinking into that artistic and economic decline which the Englishman John Mawe in 1807 was the first to describe.³³ Our study, therefore, will concern itself with the period of the eighteenth century,³⁴ when throughout the Portuguese world the Baroque style was defining its last and most expressive forms.

THE CHURCHES

*Les monuments religieux sont effectivement un trait caractéristique de toutes les provinces du Brésil: c'est toujours sur eux qui se portent d'abord les yeux du voyageur, et les églises font à juste titre l'orgueil des habitants.*³⁵ This edifying opinion of a pious French traveller in nineteenth century Brazil is most fittingly applied to the mountainous region of Minas Gerais, where the churches and chapels perched on the summits of the hills are visible for

years later he found that there was still a great mystery about the diamond mines of the region (*Travels in South America during the Years 1819-20-21; containing an Account of the Present State of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile*, London, 1825, I, p. 57).

27. The town is now called Ouro Preto (Black Gold) from the name of one of the original mining regions. Established by Antônio Dias in 1698, it was raised to the dignity of town in 1711 (Rodolfo Garcia, *Actas da camara municipal de Villa Rica 1711-1715*, Rio, 1936), and, located at a convenient point between several river valleys, Ouro Preto remained the capital of Minas Gerais through the colonial and imperial periods, only to be demoted at the end of the nineteenth century in favor of the new city of Belo Horizonte.

28. Claudio Manoel da Costa, *Vila Rica*, canto II, verses 69-70.

29. The archduchess Marianna of Habsburg (1683-1759), married to D. João V at Vienna in 1708. In Portugal called D. Mariana de Austria.

30. The first settlement was made in 1698, the establishment of the diocese in 1745. On February 27, 1748, the first bishop, D. Manoel da Cruz, was installed (see Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, *Aureo trono episcopal* etc., Lisbon, 1749). See also the *Chronologia da cidade Mariana*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, VI, 1901, pp. 1153-1157; and the modern novel inspired by the old town, *Mariana*, by Augusto de Lima, Jr., Rio, 1932.

31. From 1694 until 1754 Brazil exported annually eight and one-half million dollars worth of gold (Barclay Moun-tenay, *Selections from the various authors who have written concerning Brazil; more particularly respecting the Captaincy of Minas Geraes, and the Gold Mines of that Province*, London, 1825, p. 158).

32. Padre José Joaquim Corrêa de Almeida: *Noticia da cidade de Barbacena e seu município*, Rio, 1883, p. 24.

33. "Villa Rica at the present day scarcely retains a shadow of its former splendour. Its inhabitants, with the exception of the shopkeepers, are void of employment," *op. cit.*, p. 176. Mawe's visit took place in 1809. Seven years later, in 1816, the great French traveler, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, noticed the same state of affairs: *dans quelques rues les maisons sont presque abandonnées* (vol. I, p. 138) and, in regard to the town of Catas Altas and Inficionado: *ils ne présentent plus, comme tout le pays qui*

les environne, que l'image de l'abandon et de la décadence (vol. I, p. 189), *Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes*, Paris, 1830. Alexander Caldcleugh wrote thus in 1820: "Poverty has now her full sway at Villa Rica" *op. cit.*, II, p. 250. Nine years later the Reverend R. Walsh of London, after lamenting the miserable state of the then town of S. José d'El-Rei, says of Vila Rica "in fact everything that strikes the eye forcibly reminds a stranger that it was once a place of great wealth and consequence" (*Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, London, 1830, p. 196). Ferdinand Denis a few years later found that Vila Rica *n'offre plus que l'aspect de la décadence* (*Brésil*, Paris, 1838, p. 351). For Monsieur Alcide d'Orbigny, in 1841, Vila Rica was *cette cité déchue, comme tout le reste de la province* (*Voyage dans les deux Amériques*, Paris, 1881, p. 169). Nor were Dr. Hermann Burmeister's impressions of another town in 1851 more favorable: *Marianna . . . auch einen leblosen Eindruck macht* (p. 329), and on Queluz he wrote: *Bervoll und Armuth sind an die Stelle des Reichthums getreten, und kaum würde man seine Spur erkennen, wenn nicht die grosse stattliche Kirche des St. Amaro und einige ältere, solid gebaute Häuser davon Zeugnis gaben* (*Reise nach Brasilien durch die Provinz von Rio de Janeiro und Minas Geraes*, Berlin, 1853, p. 486). An anonymous French traveler who wrote five years later provides a final epitaph: *En somme, tout ce qui s'offre aux regards de l'étranger lui rappelle forcément qu'il considère les débris d'une cité jadis très-opulente* (*L'empire du Brésil. Souvenirs de voyage par N. X. recueillis et publiés par J.-J.-E. Roy*, Tours, 1858, p. 162).

34. The phenomenon of a school of colonial architecture confined to the eighteenth century alone is repeated in Salvador, Central America (Alberto Guerra Trigueros: *The Colonial Churches of El Salvador*, in *Bull. Pan Amer. Union*, LXXII, no. 5, May, 1938, pp. 271-279).

35. *L'empire du Brésil*, etc., p. 162. Also the North American evangelist, the Reverend Daniel P. Kidder: "All the Brazilian towns have two peculiarities which add to their external appearance—first, the buildings have a uniform color, white; second, every eminence or prominent point within them is adorned with a temple of antique structure" (*Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil embracing Historical and Geographic Notices of the Empire and its Several Provinces*, Philadelphia, 1845, II, p. 300).

miles in all directions and where the religious monuments by their number and richness clearly predominate over all other forms of building.

Indeed there is scarcely a town in the region which does not possess a half dozen colonial churches and chapels. These temples may be divided into the following categories: (1) the parish churches, or *matrizes*; (2) the churches of the brotherhoods or *irmandades*; (3) the churches of the negroes and the mulattoes; (4) the pilgrimage churches.³⁶

These Mineiro churches present a stylistic problem whose solution is to be sought in a variety of sources.³⁷ We could almost resolve the question, however, by establishing the

36. (1) Each town when raised to the dignity of *paróquia* had the right to designate a church as the *matriz*, or mother-church, generally the principal one of the settlers, the center of ecclesiastical authority. Since in colonial times there was but one cathedral in the *capitania*, that at Mariana, these *igrejas matrizes* possessed considerable dignity. The Portuguese king was bound to provide the funds for the erection of the chancels (*capela-mór*) and their maintenance (*Informação geral de capitania de Pernambuco*, 1749, in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXVIII, 1906, p. 254 and Pereira da Silva: *História da fundação do império brasileiro*, Rio 1864, vol. I, pp. 156-158), while the rest of the building cost was raised by popular subscription. At times, as in colonial Mexico, a wealthy miner would provide the funds for some part of the *matriz* or for the whole church. Thus at N. S. da Conceição de Curimatahy between 1760 and 1770 the *matriz* was erected by the wealthy landowner *capitão-mór* Manoel Pereira de Cunha and the *tenente-coronel* João Carneiro da Silva (*Rev. arch. pub. min.*, IV, 1899, p. 638); at S. João de Morro Grande, near Caeté, Domingos da Silva Maia and Manoel da Camara Bettencourt financed the new *matriz* between the years 1764 and 1785 (José Belarmino, *S. João de Morro Grande*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, III, 1898, pp. 399-406); and in 1792 one Jacinto Coelho paid for the towers of the new *matriz* of the town of Cachoeira do Campo, near Ouro Preto (Padre Afonso Henriques de Figueiredo Lemos, *Monographia da freguesia da Cachoeira do Campo*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, XIII, 1908, pp. 77-111). In Minas Gerais the *matriz* was generally dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (N. S. da Conceição), since the seventeenth century special patroness of Portugal, a cult especially dear to the Bragança dynasty and to the town of S. Paulo, whence so many of the pioneers had come (D. de Vasconcellos: *História antiga* etc.).

(2) Since the religious orders were not allowed to settle in Minas during the colonial period, the rôle both of the Third Orders, comprised of laymen enrolled in brotherhoods under the invocations of St. Francis and Our Lady of Carmel, and of the other *irmandades* was unusually important there. Although they generally maintained altars and even chapels of their own in the local *matrizes*, depending upon the size of the structure, it was the custom for each *irmandade* to erect also a church of its own. Thus not only the important towns but even villages possessed their churches dedicated to St. Francis (Venerável Ordem Terceira de São Francisco de Assis) and Our Lady of Carmel (Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo). At times they were the simplest chapels, but often the *irmandades* were so wealthy as to be able to erect really magnificent churches.

Mariana was in a sense the center of this building of Third Order churches. There a subsidiary *irmandade* of St. Francis, called the Arquirmandade de S. Francisco, had come into existence, and that older branch of the same order in the town, the Venerável Ordem Terceira da Penitencia Mariana, had in 1753 commissioned its diplomas from the celebrated Guillaume Debrie, the foremost French engraver, then resident at the court in Lisbon (José Zephyrino de Menezes Brum, *Estampas gravadas por Guil-*

herme Francisco Lourenço Debrie. Catalogo, in *Anais da Bib. Nac.*, XXVIII, 1906, pp. 1-177. no. 198).

Of only slightly less importance were the *irmandades* of N. S. das Mercês (two churches in Ouro Preto), Santa Casa de Misericórdia, though less popular here than in Portugal and the north of Brazil, and the funerary fraternities of N. S. da Boa Morte and the Senhor Jesus do Bomfim. The *irmandade* of S. Gonçalo, a local thirteenth century saint of Amarante in the north of Portugal, popular in Brazil during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, had by the seventeen fifties lost many of its adherents, and its churches, then falling into disrepair, have since disappeared. Besides these there were many other *irmandades*, Santíssima Trindade, Espírito Santo, S. José, S. Ana.

(3) The negro slaves brought in great numbers to work the mines of the *capitania* were banded in an *irmandade* of their own dedicated to N. S. do Rosário, probably because the beads of the rosary corresponded vaguely to their own African seed-bead cults. At Ouro Preto they had also a church honoring the negro saint Iphigenia of Abyssinia, and their churches possessed altars of a galaxy of negro saints: the Magus Balthasar, Antonio de Catalagirona, Benedict of San Philadelphia, or the Moor of Palermo, and Elesbaas, an Ethiopian king in Justin's time. The mulattoes, or *pardos* (greys), preferred the cult of N. S. do Amparo, although it was never so widespread in Minas Gerais as it became elsewhere, especially in the great cities of the coast.

(4) The last category includes the pilgrimage churches, whose annual *romarias* attracted pilgrims and their families from all over the region. The principal church of this type, honoring the imported Portuguese cult of Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos, is discussed in considerable detail in the following pages.

37. An essential bibliography of the study of colonial art in Minas Gerais should include the following works:

(general) José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro de Araujo, *Memórias históricas do Rio de Janeiro e das províncias anexas à jurisdição do vice-rei do estado do Brasil*, Rio, 1822, 10 vols.; Eduardo Frieiro, *As artes em Minas*, in *Minas Geraes em 1925*, Belo Horizonte, 1926; Anibal Mattos, *Monumentos históricos, artísticos e religiosos de Minas Geraes*, Belo Horizonte, 1935; *As artes nas igrejas de Minas Geraes*, Belo Horizonte, 1936; *Arte colonial brasileira*, Belo Horizonte, 1936, pp. 179-305; Robert C. Smith, Jr., *Minas Gerais no desenvolvimento da arquitetura religiosa colonial*, in *Boletim do Centro de Estudos Históricos*, II, no. 3, July-September, 1937, pp. 3-18.

(special) Furtado de Menezes, *A religião em Ouro Preto*, in *Notícia histórica, comemoração do segundo centenário de Vila Rica...*, Belo Horizonte, 1911, pp. 209-308; Diogo de Vasconcellos, *A arte em Ouro Preto*, Belo Horizonte, 1934 (prepared in 1911); Teófilo Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscências de Villa Rica—Pontes celebres* in *Rev. arch. pub. min.* XIX, 1921, pp. 151-162; *Reminiscências de Villa Rica—Casa das audiências, camara, e cadeia*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, XIX, 1921, pp. 269-344; Eurico

predominance over them of the eighteenth century style of the north of Portugal, whence the majority of the Mineiros had come.³⁸ A second influence on the colonial churches of Minas Gerais is that of the architecture of Bahia, the viceregal region, which was most marked in the first half of the century when the great migrations took place from the city of Salvador into the new district of the mines. But no complete estimate of the architectural character of these monuments would fail to recognize a third and indigenous element, an architectural characteristic of Minas Gerais itself manifest in a number of important aspects. These three ingredients produced the great series of eighteenth century churches at Ouro Preto, Mariana, Sabará, and S. João d'El-Rei.

The first constructions in the region, however, possessed little or no architectural distinction. The earliest primitive chapels which the *bandeirantes* erected beside a wooden cross set on a mountain peak or on the banks of a swift-moving mountain stream were mere provisory structures with wooden walls and roofs of heavy thatch. This was the method of construction used by the first settlers in Brazil, a style of building which still flourishes throughout the country and especially along the tropical seaboard.³⁹ We can reconstruct the probable appearance of one of these first chapels of Minas Gerais from a painting by the Dutch topographical artist Frans Post now in the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum at Amsterdam (Fig. 1).⁴⁰ The picture represents a seventeenth century village of negro slaves in the state of Pernambuco in the north of Brazil. The church or chapel which stands in the midst of the modest thatch houses or *mucambos* may well have been erected by Jesuits for their Indian converts in the late sixteenth century. The building is a very crude construction of wattle, palm and other branches laid in heavy mortar compounded from seashells of the nearby beaches. The roof itself is composed of rows of palm branches probably of the variety known as Pindoba laid in heavy thatch formation. The windows of this obscure chapel seem to have been one of the rare manifestations in Brazil of European medieval influence.

Dozens of these humble constructions were erected in the first decade of the eighteenth century in the new *capitania* of Minas Gerais, chapels which were the only places in the whole vast region where the mass might be heard. They continued to be built for some time on the private *fazendas* of Minas Gerais and S. Paulo.⁴¹

These first primitive chapels were, however, soon rebuilt in stronger and slightly more monumental fashion.⁴² The walls were given a more lasting rubble construction and then covered with heavy coats of plaster in the Portuguese style (Fig. 5). Windows and doors were provided with proper frames of stone or wood, and tiles, at first imported from the

Távora, Xavier da Veiga, Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Ouro Preto, a cidade histórica*, in *Minas Geraes em 1925*, Belo Horizonte, 1925; Teófilo Feu de Carvalho, *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*, Belo Horizonte, n. d.; Cónego Raymundo Trindade, *Archidiocese de Marianna. Subsídios para a sua história*, S. Paulo, 1928, 3 vols; Padre Julio Engracia, *Congonhas do Campo*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, VIII, 1903, pp. 15-173.

38. *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, Oporto, 1921-1924, 3 vols.

39. See Gilberto Freyre: *Mucambos do nordeste. Algumas notas sobre o tipo de casa popular mais primitivo do nordeste do Brasil*, Rio, 1937.

40. 1612-1680. A minor Dutch master of Haarlem and Amsterdam, who along with five other painters accompanied the Count Maurits of Nassau-Siegen in his governorship of Pernambuco (1637-1644). While in Brasil and after his return to Holland, Post devoted himself to the

reproduction of Brazilian landscapes. He is now the principal source for our knowledge of the appearance of pre-eighteenth century Brazilian colonial architecture. See Jacques Combe, *Un douanier Rousseau au XVII^e siècle Franz Post (1612-1680)*, in *L'amour de l'art*, XII, 1931, pp. 481-489; Joaquim de Souza Leão, *Frans Post seus quadros brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro, 1937; and my own article, *The Brazilian Landscapes of Frans Post*, in *The Art Quarterly*, I, 1938.

41. A study of such a wooden chapel erected already in 1681 by the *capitão* Fernão Pais de Barros at his *fazenda* of Sto. Antônio at S. Roque (S. Paulo) has recently been published by Mário de Andrade (*A capela de Santo Antônio*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, 1937, pp. 119-125).

42. In my article cited above (*Minas Gerais no desenvolvimento etc.*) I have divided the eighteenth century religious architecture into three periods: (1) the provisory structures, 1698-1705 circa; (2) the primitive chapels, 1705-1730; (3) the great constructions, 1730-1820.

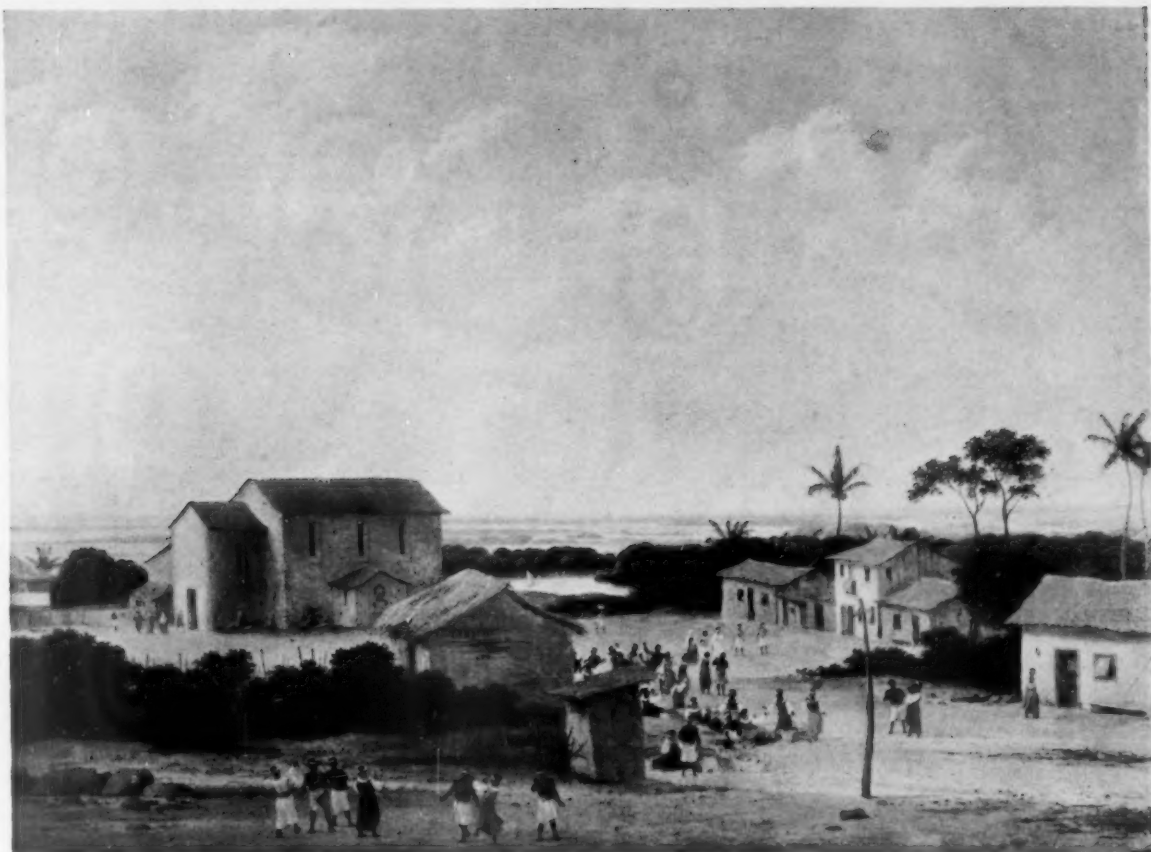


FIG. 1—*Amsterdam, Scheepvaart Museum: Pernambucan Village, by Frans Post*



FIG. 2—*Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa) Chapel S. Miguel de Orgens*



FIG. 3—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Chapel of S. João de Ouro Fino*



FIG. 4—*Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)*
Chapel of N. S. do Rosário



FIG. 5—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Chapel of*
N. S. de S. Ana; Detail of Construction



FIG. 6—*Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)*
Chapel of N. S. do Rosário; Detail of
Door Jamb



FIG. 7—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Fountain*
of the Ladeira da Rua das Cabeças

coast but soon manufactured in Minas, were supplied for the roofs. This is the form in which many of the primitive chapels of Minas Gerais still survive (Ouro Preto: S. João de Ouro Fino, Sta. Ana, S. Sebastião, N. S. da Piedade; Mariana: Sta. Ana, Sto. Antônio; Sabará: N. S. do O', N. S. do Monte; Caeté: capela de Pompeu; Congonhas do Campo: N. S. do Rosário; Sta. Luzia: N. S. Jesus do Bomfim; S. João d'El-Rei: N. S. Jesus do Bomfim; Tiradentes: S. João Evangelista, Sto. Antônio etc.)⁴³

Still others, like those of N. S. do Parto (Capela do Padre Faria)⁴⁴ and of the Senhora das Dôres, both in Ouro Preto, underwent new modifications in the middle of the century at the time of the great constructions, when doors, windows, and cornices, as well as the woodcarving of the interior, were replaced in a more ambitious form.

In their first monumental version these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais are derived from those of the north of Portugal,⁴⁵ as, to cite only one example, that of S. Miguel de Orgens, near Viseu, reconstructed in 1713 (Fig. 2). Almost all the Brazilian chapels reveal the same square plan of a single nave with rectangular chancel (Fig. 45 no. 1). The oval interior of the chapel of S. João de Ouro Fino, near Ouro Preto, is a great rarity, the true precursor of the celebrated churches of complicated interior plan which were later to be erected in the same region. The sacristy of the primitive Mineiro chapel takes its place beside the chancel, projecting from the main block of the building either at the right or at the left and usually possessing a door of its own (Figs. 3 and 4).

The principal façade of these chapels is generally composed in an identical system: a single narrow entrance door with three small windows above. Two of these are square or rectangular in form while a third, placed either above or between the rectilinear openings, is round or oval in shape (Fig. 3).

This was a system derived from the late Manueline⁴⁶ architecture of Portugal, where a small rose window together with other subsidiary openings was common in the entrance façades of parish churches such as Azurárea, Caminha, Viana do Alentejo, Vila do Conde and Golegã. But the actual arrangement found in the Mineiro churches had been evolved and used extensively in Brazil itself, in the seventeenth century architecture of the northern *capitanias* of the colony. We find it in the façade of the vanished chapel of S. Gonçalo de Amarante,⁴⁷ one of the oldest foundations of Salvador, which had been rebuilt during the

43. There is no satisfactory way of dating precisely the present buildings of the primitive chapels. There are no archives preserved for the majority of the chapels, as Furtado de Menezes points out (*op. cit.*, p. 249), and such traditional datings as 1698 (S. João de Ouro Fino, Padre Faria) certainly refer to the building of the first provisory chapel.

44. The bridge before the chapel bears the date of 1751, and one of the bells is dated the year before.

45. See J. Augusto Vieira: *O Minho pittoresco*, Lisbon, 1886, 2 vols., for illustrations of the chapels of northern Portugal. For illustrations and a discussion of those of the school of Braga, very similar to some of the Mineiro buildings, consult Azevedo Coutinho, *Guia do viajante em Braga*, Braga, 1894.

46. The style, which had been evolved in the last decade of the fifteenth century, notably at the convent of Jesus at Setúbal, is essentially a combination of the Spanish Plateresque Late Gothic and Renaissance architecture with certain naturalistic motives of exotic vegetation and nautical elements symbolic of the contemporary Portuguese discoveries in Africa, India, and Brazil. The poet Almeida Garrett, seems first to have connected the style with the name of King Manuel in his poem *Cameões*, published at Paris in 1825. Although the style continued in favor long

after King Manuel's death in 1521, modern critics have universally adopted the term derived from that monarch's name as an effectively descriptive nomenclature for the style. For recent discussions of some aspects of the Manueline style see: Vergílio Correia, *A arquitetura em Portugal no século XVI*, Lisbon, 1909; *As obras de Santa Maria de Belém de 1514 a 1519*, Lisbon, 1922 (by the same author); João Barreira, *L'art manuelin. Ses éléments et son évolution*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts, VIe pér.*, XII, p. 245.

Another Manueline survival in Minas was the *pelourinho*, or column of justice, that stood in the public squares or before public buildings in all the villages of Portugal. One such *pelourinho*, which formerly was to be seen in front of the church of S. Francisco at Ouro Preto, is illustrated in Hermann Burmeister's *Landschaftliche Bilder Brasiliens und Portraits einiger Urvölker*, Berlin, 1853, pl. 10. A similar monument stood in the space before the civic building of this town, and others were located at Mariana and Sabará. They have all since disappeared. For a consideration of the *pelourinho* in Portugal, see Luiz Chaves, *Os pelourinhos portugueses*, Gaia, 1930.

47. There is a sketch of the chapel, then already in ruins, by Sir W. Gore Ouseley, which serves as illustration for the book by William Hadfield already cited in note 11 (opposite page 124 in the text).

seventeenth century, and in the delightful church of Olinda (Pernambuco), which must date before 1630, in one of Frans Post's paintings at the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.⁴⁸ In the eighteenth century, with the characteristic expansion of the façades of the churches of Recife, Salvador, and other north Brazilian centers of building, the older arrangement tended gradually to disappear, but not before it had been taken by Bahian emigrants to Minas Gerais, whose local builders were to preserve it throughout the whole colonial period.

The moldings of doors and windows in these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais have extremely simple lines and were constructed either of stone or of wood. Particularly interesting is the entrance door of the chapel of N. S. do Rosario at Congonhas do Campo, where a curious combination of materials was used. The door frame itself was of wood but the bases are of stone. Crudely carved in the local *pedra de sabão* they take the form of extravagant tropical flowers (Fig. 6). Identical sculptured bases occur in the north of Brazil in the town of Goyana (Pernambuco), where the church of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia (1726) has a door frame, entirely of stone, ornamented at its bases with exotic flowers and plants. A similar treatment was given the rich door of the small *matriz* of S. Pedro at Olinda, which dates from the early eighteenth century. But these instances in the architecture of the northeast are too rare to suppose direct influence. More probable is the ultimate influence on both areas of the curious floral designs of the sculptors of Manueline church portals of the local sixteenth century Portuguese schools, principally those of the Algarve⁴⁹ and the towns of Estremadura.⁵⁰

Lateral towers are extremely rare among the primitive Mineiro chapels. With a few exceptions they were reserved for the royally and papally sanctioned *igrejas matrizes*, the official parish churches which, after 1724, began to appear in Minas Gerais in large numbers.⁵¹

This absence of lateral towers gave rise to the problem of the location of the bells in the Mineiro chapels. The solutions to the problem were quite various. Sometimes, and this is a most important instance of Mineiro individuality, the bells were hung in a separate structure, a kind of small tower (*sineiro*), located on a terrace near the chapel, but quite independent of it. There is no other instance of this usage elsewhere in colonial Brazil nor in Portugal itself,⁵² and from the few preserved examples in Minas the custom must have been rare even there (Ouro Preto being the center). Well preserved examples are still to be found at the chapel of Padre Faria, just outside Ouro Preto, and the neighboring shrine of Sta. Ana, at the now *matriz* of the town of Passagem, between Ouro Preto and Mariana (Fig. 8), and at the church of Sto. Antônio of Pituba, in the mountains between Barbacena and S. João d'El-Rei.

At times the bells were placed in small belfries provided in lieu of windows in the very walls of the chapel, according to the common Mediterranean usage. The church of N. S. do Carmo at Sta. Luzia, although apparently somewhat later in construction than the prim-

48. Cat. no. 1906; illustrated J. de Souza-Leão, *op. cit.* pl. 4.

49. See: Francisco Xavier d'Athaide Oliveira, *A monografia de Alvor*, Oporto, 1907; *A monografia de Estombar*, Oporto, 1911.

50. In particular the region of Torres Vedras. See: Manuel Agostinho Madeira Tórrès, *Descrição histórica e económica da villa e termo de Torres-Vedras*, 2nd ed., Coimbra, 1861; Julio Vieira, *Torres Vedras antiga e moderna*, Torres Vedras, 1926; Frei Manoel de Maria Santissima, *História da fundação do real convento e seminário de varasão*, Oporto, 1799.

51. The *carta regia* of February 16, 1724, began a movement of establishing *matrizes* in Minas Gerais comparable in its proportions to the rebuilding and building of new parish churches in London after the Great Fire (Conégo Raymundo Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 34-36).

52. We are vaguely reminded of the old Portuguese *pavillions de jardin*, those little square buildings with exaggerated pagoda roofs which the nobility delighted to erect in the eighteenth century (Viano do Castelo, house near the church of Sto. Domingos; Coimbra, *quinta* de Sta. Cruz, formerly of the Cónegos Regrantes de Sto. Agostinho; Caxias, palace of the Infante D. Francisco).

itive chapels under discussion, is so akin to them in its general extreme simplicity as to afford an excellent example of this usage.

The third arrangement, of unknown origin, seems also typical of this region. The bells are located in a small tower or turret placed atop the principal cornice in the center of the main façade, as in the delightful chapel of Sta. Ana at Mariana (Fig. 9).⁵³ This disposition survived at Mariana alone in the era of great construction, when such churches as N. S. das Mercês and that of the Arquirmandade de S. Francisco de Assis, which date from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, were given these strange *sineiros* astride their principal façades (Fig. 18).

But in the important chapel of the Senhora de O', outside Sabará, a different step was taken. There the towerlet of Sta. Ana de Mariana was allowed to influence the whole façade (Fig. 14), causing an actual projection from the main plan (Fig. 45/3a). This may be considered an intermediate step between the peculiar Mariana arrangement and the one finally adopted at Ouro Preto, where, in the churches of N. S. das Mercês *de cima*, of 1773, and S. José, which dates from about 1800, a monumental central tower was introduced (Fig. 45/3).

The whole question of the derivations of this usage in Minas Gerais is shrouded in mystery. It is hardly possible that the series of chapels and churches could represent a definite revival in the *capitania* of the old Portuguese medieval central tower façade like that of the cathedral of Faro in the province of Algarve.⁵⁴ But this usage was extremely rare in the mother-country and was never developed elsewhere in Brazil in colonial times.⁵⁵ It is true that a great church of Oporto was built in the mid-eighteenth century with a single tower in the center of its main façade⁵⁶ (but not projecting from the fabric of the building as the Ouro Preto towers do). This may account for the presence of the towers of S. José and the Mercês of the former Vila Rica in a general way, since the influence of the north of Portugal was always particularly strong at the old capital of Minas Gerais. But it cannot explain the origins of the towers of Mariana and that of the Senhora de O' at Sabará which antedate the church of the Santíssima Trindade at Oporto by almost a half century. The most plausible explanation, but one which is by no means more than a mere hypothesis, is that the early turrets were employed to show the category of the chapels and churches on which they occur. After 1725 the *matrizes* quite generally were given twin lateral towers, as will become evident later in this study. On the other hand, the single lateral church tower in Brazil is often associated with the severe Jesuit constructions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁷ Since the Jesuits as well as the members of the other

53. Epaminondas de Macêdo in a recent article asserts that the spire of Sta. Ana is not original, but his reasons for this claim are not clear (*A capela do N. S. de Sant' Ana*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, pp. 151-154).

54. The building, of no great archeological interest, is dwarfed by its monster square façade tower which dates from the time of D. Afonso III (1248-1279), who conquered the Algarve from the Moors in 1249.

55. There is a seventeenth century map of S. Vicente containing a church which seems to have a single façade tower projecting in the fashion of the Ouro Preto towers. But the drawing is too sketchy to permit of acceptance as evidence, and the building itself has long since perished. See the plate in P. F. Giovanni Giuseppe di Santa Teresa, *Istoria delle guerre del regno del Brasile*, 2 vols., Rome, 1689.

56. The church of the Santíssima Trindade, constructed about 1750. Another church of Oporto, that of S. Pedro dos Clérigos, 1732, has a single lofty tower at the apse.

57. The sixteenth century foundations of Sta. Cruz

(Bahia) and Conceição de Itanhaen (S. Paulo) are good examples of the single Jesuit façade tower. For reproductions see: *Onde nasceu o Brasil*, in *Revista da semana*, XXXIX, no. 23 (May 14, 1938), p. 33; *Revista do arquivo municipal de São Paulo*, XLI (Nov., 1937), opp. p. 204. But in the eighteenth century this convention seems to have weakened, for such magnificent examples of Jesuit building as the great seminary of Belém in the Recôncavo of Bahia present the two lateral towers used so frequently at that time (Godofredo Filho: *Seminário de Belém da Cachoeira*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, pp. 101-111).

At Santos the important Carmelite foundation of the sixteenth century, the earliest of that order in Brazil, was constructed with a single lateral façade tower for its church, and the heavy stalwart proportions recall the Jesuit churches. The tendency toward a single tower of this type lingered in the region of Santos (church of N. S. do Monte, S. Estevão at S. Vicente, 1757).

religious orders were not allowed to settle in Minas Gerais,⁵⁸ a distaste for this type of building may have arisen as well. Certainly the examples of churches with single lateral towers in Minas are few indeed. With single and lateral double towers ruled out by prejudice of one sort or another, the only other façade tower is the central type, and that would be the only other solution of the problem, since central crossing lanterns or towers are impractical in small chapels or in churches without chapels. The towerlets of Mariana would then be the result of unskilful attempts to work in the direction of this prescribed central façade tower which for some reason were perpetuated in the architecture of the episcopal city.

The original decoration of the primitive chapels of Minas Gerais was very simple. Outside it is principally to be seen in the great double doors of *jacarandá* mahogany. These are sculptured in the severe lines of the seventeenth century, with a firm division into rectilinear compartments whose main lines and masses are quite definitely *en ressaut* (Fig. 6). It is another instance in Minas Gerais of the early influence of the north of Brazil where such doors remained popular until 1750.

At the corners of the small buildings were frequently placed diminutive rude pilasters carried out either in stone facing or in plaster with simple stone balls or pyramids and a small cross on the elementary pediment to continue the vertical accents. The style is essentially the continuation in Brazil of the old Portuguese system—that perpetual blending of sombre stone with gayly colored plaster to produce a humble, clean, pastoral architecture.

The formula of these tiny constructions was never lost in the eighteenth century. They remained an essential type of the regional colonial architecture. When, in 1750, the great seminary of Mariana was begun, its chapel⁵⁹ was designed in the primitive form. That of the *recolhimento* (female asylum) of Macaúbas, of 1727, also preserves it, and the little *capelas dos passos*,⁶⁰ used in the Holy Week processions, are likewise derived from these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais.

It was not until 1730 that the period of the great constructions was definitely inaugurated with the rebuilding of the churches of N. S. do Pilar in Ouro Preto, begun in 1730–1731, and of N. S. da Conceição (now dedicated to the Assumption and raised to the dignity of a cathedral) of Mariana in 1734–1740. The final rebuildings of the *matriz* of Antônio Dias at Ouro Preto and of that of Sabará seem to date from this same period. We know from documents the names of a few of the men employed upon them; they were mostly journeymen builders, whose personalities have naturally remained extremely vague.⁶¹

58. Ostensibly to guard against the temptations of too easily acquired wealth and a subsequent demoralization of the monastic clergy, but actually to insure for the Crown as much of the spoils as possible. As a result Minas Gerais never knew the distinctive type of monastic architecture prevalent in the rest of colonial Brazil.

59. Dedicated to the cult of N. S. da Bôa Môrte. For a detailed history of this seminary see Trindade: *op. cit.*, II, pp. 754–918.

60. Those of S. João d'El-Rei, like those of the towns of Borba and Vila Viçosa in the Portuguese Alentejo, were given a more monumental decoration.

61. There follows a partial chronology of the principal churches erected in Minas Gerais during the period of the great constructions with the names of their known builders.

OURO PRETO

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição de Antônio Dias

1705 A chapel already existed.

1731 Nov. 18. The church was already being rebuilt. Antônio Francisco Pombal was employed on its *capela-mór*.

1733 The new church was inaugurated by the *vigário*, Dr. Francisco da Silva e Almeida.

1760 Mar. 26. Felipe Viera received the contract for woodwork in the *capela-mór*.

The *matriz* of N. S. do Pilar

1712 The *irmandade* had been formed.

1730 Aug. 13. The *termo da reunião* mentions that João Francisco Oliveira had been commissioned to build a new church.

1733 The Blessed Sacrament was moved in, but the church was not yet completed.

1736 Antônio Ramos da Cruz was working on stairs.

1737 Antônio Francisco Pombal was preparing the flooring, cornices, and ceilings.

1737 The *provedor*, Dr. Lourenço S. Pais, ordered the stairs and one pulpit.

1741 The *capela-mór* was ordered enlarged.

The church of N. S. do Carmo

1755 Stonework by José Pereira dos Santos.

1766 Manuel Francisco Lisboa presented plan for a new church (called *capela*), which was accepted.



FIG. 8—*Passagem (Minas Gerais): The "Matriz"*



FIG. 9—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Chapel of N. S. de S. Ana*



FIG. 10—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Carmo



FIG. 11—Sabará (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Carmo

In the walls of these churches we find the first real masonry construction in Minas Gerais. For previous to these buildings there had been no such constructions in all of the former *capitania*. We have seen how the walls of the primitive chapels were built. We

- 1771 July 20. Francisco de Lima contracted for doors and windows and the lavabo of the sacristy.
 1776 João Alves Viana took over the work, which was to be finished in 6 years.
 1827 Vicente Alves da Silva completed the *camerim* of the *capela-mór*.

The church of S. Francisco de Assis

- 1765 July 21. A new church was ordered.
 1766 Mestre Domingos Moreira de Oliveira was at work under the direction of Antônio Francisco Lisboa.
 1772 The church was being used.
 1794 A. F. Lisboa contracted for the decoration of the *capela-mór*.
 1801 Manuel da Costa Athayde paid for gilding.
 1806 Front and side doors were being executed by Lucas Evangelista de Jesus, probably under the direction of A. F. Lisboa.

The church of N. S. do Rosário dos Pretos

- 1715 The *irmandade* already existed.
 1785 A new church was completed by José Pereira Arouca.

The church of Sta. Efigênia dos Pretos

- 1723 The *irmandade* was already established and had requested of the *juízo eclesiástico* of Rio de Janeiro the right to accompany the annual procession of Corpus Christi at Vila Rica.
 1749 The pulpits of the new church were being made by João da Silva Madeiro. The high altar was in course of construction.

The chapel of Padre Faria

- 1701 The *arraial* was conceded to a group of Paulistas.
 1704 The image of N. S. do Parto was removed from the chapel of Bom Sucesso to the new chapel.
 1750 Date of the principal bell in the *sineiro*.
 1756 The papal cross before the chapel was erected.

The church of N. S. das Mercês

- 1771-1773 The church was constructed. It was rebuilt during the next sixty years.

The church of N. S. Bom Jesus dos Perdões.

- 1771 The church was rebuilt by the Ordem Terceira de N. S. das Mercês.

The church of S. Francisco de Paula

- 1804 Oct. 4. The first stone was laid.
 1878 The exterior was completed.

MARIANA

The cathedral of N. S. da Assunção

- 1709 The straw chapel of N. S. da Conceição was being replaced.
 1714. May 14. A letter of D. Braz Balthazar da Silva says that the citizens banded together to raise the funds. Jacyntho Barbosa Lopes was the contractor.
 1745 The church was rededicated, this time to the Assumption, and raised to the dignity of *Sé* (Cathedral).
 1748 The new building was not yet completed.

The church of N. S. do Carmo

- 1758 Nov. 9. The *mesa administrativa* of the Third Order decided to erect a new church.
 1784 June 21. A new church was ordered of *mestre* Domingos Moreira de Oliveira. Under him worked José Antonio Soares de Brito as *mestre pedreiro*.

- 1794 After the death of Moreira de Oliveira, the work was given to Custodio de Freitas and José Bernardes de Oliveira.

- 1810 Francisco Moebado da Luz took over the work.

- 1819 The high altar by Manuel Dias was gilded by Francisco Xavier Carneiro.

The church of S. Francisco de Assis

- 1763 Aug. 15. The first stone was blessed.
 1794 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 41,000 *cruzados* in fees. Manuel da Silva Beneventes was paid MR. 500 for part of the carpentry and MR. 135 for alterations to the sacristy.

The church of N. S. do Rosário dos Pretos

- 1712 The *irmandade* was housed in an old chapel of N. S. do Carmo.
 1755 May 2. A letter of D. Manuel da Cruz, first bishop of Mariana, states that the new church was nearing completion.

The church of N. S. das Mercês

- 1769 Jan. 28. The church was ordered blessed by episcopal *provisão*.

The church of the Arquirmandade or Arquiconfraria of S. Francisco de Assis

- 1760 The church was completed.

The church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos

- 1731 Jan. 16. The *irmandade* was erected in the *matriz* by a *provisão* of D. Antônio de Guadalupe, Bishop of Rio de Janeiro.
 1752 The walls of the new church were already completed.

BARBACENA

The *matriz* of N. S. da Piedade

- 1748 Nov. 27. The new church was blessed.

The church of N. S. da Boa Morte

- 1815 The church was completed.

CONGONHAS DO CAMPO

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição

- 1745 The church received this invocation after the rededication of the former *matriz* of Mariana.

The church of N. S. Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos

- 1757 Dec. The King D. José I gave permission to build a chapel on royal land.
 1758 Feb. Work had already begun.
 1758 April 8. The image of N. S. Bom Jesus was set in place.
 1758 Contracts made with the *mestres das obras* of Vila Rica, Antônio Roiz Falcato *pedreiro* and Antônio Gonçalves Rosa *carpinteiro*. R. 3600 were paid to an unknown person for a church plan.
 1759 Oct. The work was so advanced that the *vigário* Jacome made his official visit to the church.
 1760 Alms boxes were distributed throughout Minas.
 1765-1777 The raising of the towers and completion of the nave. The *talha* of the nave altars by Manuel Roiz Coelho. The brothers João Gonçalves Rosa and Antônio Gonçalves Rosa contracted to finish the carpentry and Francisco de Lima to terminate the *capela-mór*.
 1773 Aug. The *capela-mór* was completed.
 1774 Bernardo Pires da Silva contracted for the paintings of the *capela-mór*.

may cite also the example of the house of the Portuguese Paschoal da Silva, in 1720.⁶² He was the richest man in Vila Rica, but his house was built only of *grossas madeiras*. Or we can mention the letter of the seventeenth of September of 1722, in which the governor of Minas Gerais, D. Lourenço de Almeida, intimated to the King that the very coffers of the crown gold were kept in "a log lodging of no security at all."⁶³ And the governor adds: "Although I should like to transfer these coffers to other houses, they would always be running the same risk, since they are all [the houses] of the same quality."

Even as late as the year 1742 the governor Gomes Freire de Andrade was still complaining of this unseemly absence of stone buildings at Ouro Preto.⁶⁴ But by that time the walls of churches in Minas Gerais were already being constructed of the fine steatite stone of Itacolumí with its blue-grey⁶⁵ cast so reminiscent of the granite of northern Portugal. Meanwhile in the mica-schist soapstone of the quarries of Sta. Rita and elsewhere near Ouro Preto, the familiar *pedra de sabão*, the Mineiro builders found a material comparable to the Portuguese *pedra de Ançã* of the Coimbra district for the cutting of the relief sculptures of the church façades. Thus the technical means were at hand for the continuation in this part of Brazil of the architectural traditions of the north of Portugal.

Likewise in the plans of their churches the builders of Minas Gerais followed Portuguese usage. Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, one of the most observant of the nineteenth century visitors to Brazil, not remembering the single example of the *matriz* of Sabará, wrote of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais: *aucune église n'a de bas-côtés*.⁶⁶ The Portuguese archi-

1774 J. G. Rosa finished the decoration of the *coro* and the sacristy.

1778 A *belo atrio* contracted.

1779 The church was practically completed.

1789 Two great pillars were contracted for the main entrance.

CHURCHES AT OTHER SITES

The church of S. Francisco de Assis at S. João d'El-Rei

1774 The date on the façade.

The church of N. S. do Carmo at Sabará

1772 The date of the bells.

The *matriz* of Sta. Luzia at Sta. Luzia

1778 The date of the façade.

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição at Curimatahy

1760-1770 The founding and erection of the church.

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição at Cachoeira do Campo

1725 The church was already built.

1752 The *talha* was contracted for by Americo Machado and Manuel Rodrigues.

1775 The roof was painted by Antônio Rodrigues.

1792 The façade towers erected.

1799 The cross, or *cruzeiro*, raised before the church.

The *matriz* at S. João de Morro Grande

1713 The inhabitants of the town began a new chapel larger than the first.

1764 Jan. 8. The first stone was laid of the present church on a plan of an unknown Portuguese author. The stonework was carried out by Manuel Gonçalves de Oliveira.

1767 The work had progressed up to the windows of the towers.

1768 The work had to be modified. They lacked money, so that several unnecessary details were eliminated, and the sacristy was built of rubble instead of stone, as originally planned.

1778 Theodóro Martins de Sousa contracted for the carpentry.

1785 The work was completed.

The *matriz* of N. S. do Bom Sucesso at Caeté

1757 The date on the façade. The stone-work was carried out by Antônio da Silva Bracarena and the *talha* was ordered from the Portuguese José Coelho de Noronha.

62. Feu de Carvalho, *Ementario da historia de Minas. Felipe dos Santos na sedição de Villa Rica*, Belo Horizonte, n. d., p. 189.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

64. In a well-known letter of the 29th of August, 1742, involving the delays in the construction of the new palace of the governors at Ouro Preto (*Minas Gerais em 1925*, p. 690).

65. The same local stone in a warm brown color was also quarried.

66. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 120-121. The rest of the distinguished traveler's description of Mineiro churches should also be quoted.

... Construídas à peu près sur le modèle de celles de Portugal, elles sont beaucoup plus petites que les nôtres. Le clocher ne s'élève point du milieu du toit; il est remplacé par deux tours carrées qui, faisant partie de la façade de l'église, prolongent ses deux côtés, et l'intervalle que les tours laissent entre elles, est rempli par un fronton qui domine de largeur de la base au sommet, à peu près comme un triangle, et se termine par une croix. Quelques églises de campagne n'offrent qu'un fronton sans ornement; d'autres n'ont qu'une tour ou même elles n'en ont pas du tout, et alors la cloche est ordinairement placée à côté de l'église sous un petit toit soutenu par deux poteaux. Aucune église n'a de bas côtés. Le sanctuaire n'est point, comme chez nous, contenu avec le reste du vaisseau; c'est ainsi que l'indique la dénomination portugaise "capella mor" (chapelle majeure), une véritable chapelle distincte de la nef, moins élevée et surtout moins large qu'elle. Pour masquer les angles qui, de chaque côté, résultent naturellement de la différence de largeur de la nef et de la chapelle majeure, on construit à droite et à gauche un autel oblique. Audessus du maître-autel, qui occupe le fond de la chapelle majeure, s'élève dans une niche pyramide de gradins chargée de chandeliers et de bouquets de fleurs; le sommet de la pyra-

fects of the seventeenth century, thoroughly impregnated with the Jesuit traditions which had emanated from Rome to the whole of Europe in the century before, had suppressed in their churches the old Manueline system of three nave aisles. There resulted in Portugal the custom of building lateral corridors in the place of the abolished nave aisles. On the exterior these corridors appear an outgrowth of the plan itself. They lead toward the sacristy, which now is generally located behind the chancel (*capela-mór*) instead of beside it, as in the earlier chapels, and to the other service apartments of the church. They possess doors leading into the nave (Fig. 45/5), thus providing an excellent reserve space for times when the nave is crowded. They are generally equipped with exterior doors which serve as lateral or subsidiary portals of the church.

A fine example of the use of these lateral passages in Portugal is the church of the Third Order of St. Francis at Elvas (Alentejo), which was begun in 1701 but was not completed until eighteen years later. In Minas Gerais and in all Brazil the corridors were so frequently imitated that they have come to be associated with the plan of any typical colonial church and still survive as an important element in modern Brazilian religious architecture. But as a matter of fact they were never employed at Ouro Preto.⁶⁷ Occasionally they appear in two stories, as at the Senhora da Boa Morte in Barbacena, with elegantly sculptured windows and doors (Fig. 16). At times they were even given a special disposition in the integration of the exterior of the church. At the magnificent *matriz* of Caeté, the plan of which was sent from Portugal, they completely surround the church, breaking, behind the sacristy, to form rear salients in repetition of the lateral towers of the façade (Fig. 45/6).

The position of the sacristy was shifted to the rear of the *capela-mór*, as we have said, in many of the Mineiro churches (Fig. 45/2 and 45/4), thus forming a unit of chancel and sacristy repeating the mass of the nave before it. This was but another imitation of the contemporary style in vogue in the north of Portugal. The splendid church of N. S. do Carmo at Viseu, built by the canon Henrique de Lemos between the years 1733 and 1738, reveals the same arrangement,⁶⁸ which was not only typical of the north of Portugal but common throughout the kingdom (Fig. 12). A direct inheritance from the Manueline parish churches, the square chancel was retained in the eighteenth century country churches of northern Portugal and Minas (in counter-distinction to the semicircular apses of the Italianate court architecture). In several Mineiro churches the new unit of chancel and sacristy reached proportions equal to the nave itself (Fig. 45/4 and Fig. 11) and the arch dividing the *capela-mór* from the nave was accented on the exterior by architectural

mide porte la statue du patron, et les côtés de la niche sont assez généralement accompagnés de colonnes, ce qui forme un ensemble d'un effet agréable et d'un goût assez pur.

Il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver dans les églises de l'intérieur du Brésil des chefs-d'œuvre de peinture ou de sculpture; on n'y voit aucun tableau, mais les statues des saints, les peintures des plafonds et des murailles, ne sont pas beaucoup plus mauvaises que celles de la plupart de nos églises de province. On a senti chez nous que les édifices religieux empruntaient d'une lumière affaiblie quelque chose de plus imposant; mais souvent on a exagéré ces effets, et plusieurs de nos temples sont devenus tristes et lugubres: il n'en est pas ainsi des églises brésiliennes; elles sont mieux éclairées que les nôtres; les fenêtres ne sont pas très grandes, mais elles sont plus multipliées et n'ont point de carreaux à petits plombs. La majesté de nos temples ne se retrouve point, il est vrai, dans les églises du Brésil, mais on a beaucoup plus de soin d'y maintenir la propreté. Toutes sont planchées, et, des deux côtés de la nef, dans une largeur de cinq à six pieds, le plancher est plus élevé d'environ neuf pouces que

dans le reste de l'église. Cet espace ainsi exhaussé, est séparé du milieu de la nef par une balustrade de jacaranda noir comme l'ébène, et la même balustrade, prolongée parallèlement au maître-autel, sépare encore le sanctuaire de la nef.

67. The nearest approach is to be seen in the second-story exterior loggie of the church of S. Francisco. Similar galleries are to be found at the chapel of N. S. dos Navegantes at Salvador and at the church of the Bahian seminary of Belém da Cachoeira.

68. Maximiliano Aragão, *Viseu, provincia da Beira. Subsídios para a sua história desde fins do século XV*, Oporto, 1928, vol. III, pp. 502-503. The exterior of the *capela-mór* is curiously described by Padre Leonardo de Sousa (*Epitome carmelitano*, Lisbon, 1739, p. 75): *Nos quatro angulos que faz a capela pela parte de fóra, se veem levantadas outras tantas pyramides, assentadas em suas bases e coroadas com seus globos, terminando o cume do seu telhado uma famosa esphera, e sobre ela um Anjo sustentando na mão esquerda o Estendarte da Cruz, e com a direita mostrando o quadro do templo, a que os ventos o impelem.*

moldings and sculpture, as in the church of N. S. do Carmo of Ouro Preto (Fig. 10).

In general the plan of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais follows the rectangular form without transepts developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the north of Portugal (Fig. 45/4). There is no instance in Minas of the Greek cross plan, which is found in colonial Brazil only at the church at Sta. Ana of Belém do Pará. The ten-sided interior of N. S. do Pilar at Ouro Preto (Fig. 45/4b) in many aspects reflects the Lisbon church of Menino Deus (1711) and its Portuguese counterpart, the pilgrimage church of S. João Batista in Campo Maior (Alentejo) of 1734. But this is a rarity not to be encountered again in Minas, and indeed only once again in the colonial architecture of Brazil.⁶⁹

On the other hand the oval plan applied to both interior and exterior enjoyed a certain vogue in the new *capitania*. Appearing in the Oporto church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos, a building designed by the greatest architect of the north of Portugal during the eighteenth century, Nicolau Nazoni⁷⁰ (Fig. 13) and begun on the twenty-third of April of 1732, this plan was repeated a year later in the Rio church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos. Since they were both under the same invocation, and the rebuilding of the Rio church is known to have been a pretentious undertaking,⁷¹ it is natural to suppose that the plan of the latter was derived directly from the former church, probably brought over in the baggage of some Oporto architect newly arrived in Brazil.

From Rio de Janeiro the motive journeyed to Minas, where it appeared in the now dis-used church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos (again the same invocation suggests direct influence) of Mariana, which was completed about 1752.⁷² But this time the plan is more ambitious than that used in either the Oporto or Rio de Janeiro churches, for it includes now two convergent ovals (Fig. 45/7). Later the plan was further developed by José Pereira Arouca in his great church of N. S. do Rosário built for the negroes of Ouro Preto about 1785 (Fig. 21), and by "Aleijadinho"⁷³ in the churches of S. Francisco de Assis at Ouro Preto (1763-

69. The church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos at Recife, begun in 1728 by the architect Manuel Ferreira Jacome (Sebastião de Vasconcellos Galvão, *Diccionario chorographico historico e estatistico de Pernambuco*, Rio, 1922, vol. II-B, p. 364). See also D. Domingos do Loreto Couto, *Desaggravos do Brasil e glorias de Pernambuco* (1757), in *Annals da Bibl. Nac.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 157.

70. An Italian architect who came to Oporto in the middle of the eighteenth century and was active there until his death on August 30, 1773. He is remembered principally for the churches of the Clérigos and the Misericórdia, and for the Quinta da Prelada, a country estate of the Noronha family, the tower of whose arms was erected in the gardens to produce a curious Neo-Gothic effect. For the biography of the architect and a description of his buildings see: Agostinho Rebello da Costa, *Descrição topografica e historica da cidade da Porto*, Oporto, 1788; Francisco José Patricio, *D. Nicolau Nazoni*, in *Commercio portuguez*, XCIV, Oporto, 1885; and the article devoted to Nazoni in Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo's *Diccionario historico e documental dos architectos, engenheiros, e constructores portugueses*, Lisbon, 1922, vol. II, pp. 189-193.

71. The money is said to have been provided by rich Mineiros. The *irmandade* resolved to build the new church on August 2, 1733. The first stone was blessed by the bishop of Rio de Janeiro, D. Frei Antônio de Guadalupe. The church was probably completed before 1741, for on the seventh of October of that year the image of S. Gonçalo de Amarante was formally placed in the building. The sanctuary of the church is of imported marble. See Azevedo Moreira, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

72. The present archbishop of Mariana, His Excellency

D. Helvesio Gomes Oliveira, has arranged in the building, which is a dependency of the archepiscopal palace, an important museum of colonial art.

73. Antônio Francisco Lisboa, 1730-1814, a mulatto of Ouro Preto called Aleijadinho (little cripple) because of the loss of both fingers and toes from syphilis. About him has grown up a mass of legendary biography which would set him up as the greatest and most prolific sculptor and architect of colonial Minas Gerais (R. J. Ferreira Brêtas, *Traços biograficos relativos ao finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa, distincto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo apelido de Aleijadinho*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.* I, 1896, pp. 161-174; Djalma Andrade, *Congonhas do Campo. O Aleijadinho*, in *Minas Geraes em 1925*, pp. 563-571; Basilio de Magalhães, *O Aleijadinho*, in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro. Boletim*, 1930; José Mariano Filho, *Mestre Aleijadinho e sua obra*, in *O Cruzeiro* vol. II, Aug. 30, 1930, pp. 15-30; Angel Guido, *O Aleijadinho The Little Cripple of Minas Geraes*, in *The Pan American Union Fine Arts Series*, no. 9, Washington, 1930; Léon Kochnitzky, *Un Bernin des tropiques*, in *Formes-L'amour de l'art*, March, 1934, pp. 5-6; Angel Guido, *El Aleijadinho. El gran escultor leproso del siglo XVIII en el Brasil*, Santa Fe, 1938).

On the other hand, Dr. Feu de Carvalho has published a convincing attack upon these theories (*O Aleijadinho*, Belo Horizonte, 1934), but one which probably goes too far in the opposite direction. He assigns to the maimed sculptor only the cedar wood groups from the life of Christ in the chapels at Congonhas do Campo and the stone figures of 12 prophets before the church, which he executed between the years 1796 and 1805 for the sum of MR. 1639. All the other attributions he discards as unsupported by



FIG. 12—*Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa)*
Church of N. S. do Carmo; Detail of
Capela Mór

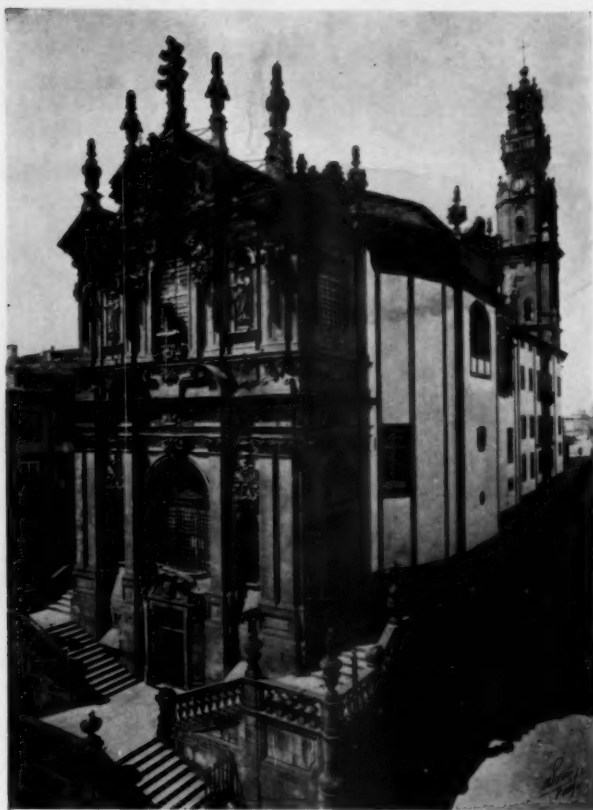


FIG. 13—*Oporto (Portugal, Douro): Church of*
S. Pedro dos Clérigos



FIG. 14—*Sabará (Minas Gerais): Chapel of*
N. S. de O'



FIG. 15—*S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais)*
Church of S. Francisco de Assis; Doorway

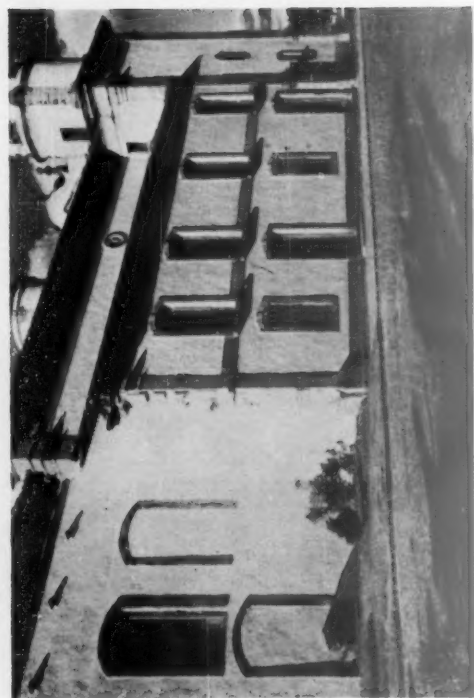


FIG. 16—Barbacena (Minas Gerais): Church of
N. S. da Boa Morte



FIG. 17—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Houses
in Rua Direita



FIG. 18—Mariana (Minas Gerais): Church of the
Arcofraternidade de S. Francisco



FIG. 19—Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais): Church
of *N. S. Bom Jesus*; Garden Chapel

1794) (Fig. 23) and S. João d'El-Rei of 1774. The oval plan is an arrangement which in the colonial period is to be encountered only in this part of Brazil. It would seem to point once again to a very definite influence from the north of the mother-country, this time the school of Oporto being the instrument of inspiration. But the regional developments, the elaboration of the oval façade, as well as the introduction of a second ellipse in the nave plan, speak for the ingenuity of local builders.

The North Portuguese influence continues in the matter of the covering of these churches. The cupola, which was always such an important element in the Baroque architecture of Spain and one developed with such prodigality in the churches of every category in Mexico and in Peru, indeed in all the former Hispanic colonies, was always rare in Portugal and in the Portuguese settlements abroad.⁷⁴ When employed at all it is to be found in the religious monuments of the court—the royal convent of Mafra, the church of the Memoria at Lisbon, begun in 1760 by Giovanni Carlo Bibbiena, and the vast basilica da Estrêla (1779–90), also at the capital. All of these buildings are examples of the most direct Italian influence. The rustic dome of the provincial church of N. S. de Ares at Viana do Alentejo, built by the architect Padre João Patista in 1743, is almost unique in Portugal. In the north of the kingdom the motive appears to have been totally forgotten during the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Our thesis is thus further strengthened by the impossibility of locating a single cupola in the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais. Nor is there any reason to believe that domes were ever even planned for these Mineiro churches. In the north of Portugal there had also been a tendency to avoid vaulting in any form ever since the Romanesque period. Instead wooden roofs were constructed to simulate cloister vaults or even shallow interior oval domes. These ceilings were freely imitated in Minas.

In their treatment of the church façade the Mineiro architects straightway chose the type with twin lateral towers. All the great churches of Minas Gerais, *matrizes*, churches of the *irmandades*, and even certain later chapels, were provided with these paired towers (Fig. 45/4a), in place of the single lateral tower so common in the regions of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Santos. It is a further instance of the continued influence of North Portuguese architecture in Minas, for, whereas in Lisbon and in the south of the country the single tower type is frequently encountered, in the north the great eighteenth century sanctuaries all possess the twin lateral façade towers. We may illustrate the point with three typical

documents and impossible for a man so hideously handicapped to be able to execute. He further attacks the theory expressed in the writings of the above group that Aleijadinho was the son by the negress Isabel of that *carpinteiro* and contractor Manuel Francisco Lisboa of Ouro Preto whom we now know to have prepared the plan for the church of N. S. do Carmo at Ouro Preto in 1766, and to have built the Ouro Preto governor's palace (1741–1748), as well as the bridge of Antônio Dias (1755–1756) and the fountain of that name (1758) in the same town. This denial is made on the grounds of insufficient documentary evidence.

It should be remembered, however, that tradition has always strongly linked Aleijadinho with the churches of S. Francisco at Ouro Preto and S. João d'El-Rei, of which a virtual replica, the church of N. S. do Carmo, exists in the same town. The sculptures of these three churches are so closely related in subject, design, and workmanship as to predicate a single authorship. To these should be added the doorways of N. S. do Carmo at Ouro Preto and the unfinished portal of the Bom Jesus of Congonhas, and the

sculptures over the doors of N. S. das Mercês e Perdões and the Bom Jesus of Ouro Preto, all very closely related in style. We cannot deny, on internal evidence, that these monuments constitute a very especial school within the wider school of Minas Gerais. Since there is no other known sculptor of this period in Minas, we are forced for the sake of clarity to refer to this group of monuments as the work of the *school of Aleijadinho*. As to the possibility that A. F. Lisboa was an architect as well, which Feu de Carvalho denies because no documents refer to him specifically as architect, we should remember that the supposed father, Manuel Francisco, was always called *carpinteiro* in contemporary documents, although he worked almost entirely in stone. It seems to be true that since there were no professional architects, save the engineer Alpoim, in colonial Minas, other artisans took over their work.

74. Domes are to be found in the Italianate architecture of Belém (church of Sta. Ana) and Rio de Janeiro (church of N. S. da Candelaria) and in the later chapels at Congonhas do Campo.

examples—the church of N. S. do Carmo at Viseu, already mentioned, that of the Senhor dos Passos e N. S. da Consolação, of 1785, at Guimarães, and the royal *matriz* of Pôvoa de Varzim, begun in 1743,⁷⁵ on the coast above Oporto.

Aside from this general similarity in regard to the disposition of their towers, the façades of the Mineiro churches show a marked uniformity in the matter of decoration. We can, however, speak broadly of two types, of two tendencies widely divergent, the one Bahian and the other traditionally Mineiro.

The Bahian architecture of the great period, that is of the last years of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth, has its own special character derived from the sixteenth century Jesuit style of the Counter-Reformation. It is the sober classicism of that period, with its severity of rectilinear surfaces in the mathematically marked windows, doors, and cornices, and the frequent tendency to design the lower portion of the main façade in the form of a triumphal arch. The best preserved examples of this Bahian style of the *Blütezeit* are the churches of the Misericórdia (1695), the Jesuit College (about 1697), the convent of N. S. do Carmo (Fig. 27) and that of S. Francisco (1710), the church of the Santíssima Trindade do Paço, all in the city of Salvador,⁷⁶ and the *matriz* of Sto. Amaro da Purificação of 1704, in the nearby Recôncavo of Bahia.

It is this influence of the then viceregal capital that is to be seen in many of the earlier large churches of Minas Gerais. Principally it is found in the cold façade of the present cathedral of Mariana, whose doors and windows reveal a complete lack of ornamentation (Fig. 20). The church possesses two principal cornices cutting the verticality of the structure exactly as in the Bahian churches. The triangular frontispiece and the high roofs of the church in Mariana are almost the equals of those of the former Jesuit church, now the cathedral of Salvador, whose broad transept was also imitated in the first Mineiro cathedral. This architectural tradition remained in Mariana (churches of N. S. das Mercês and do Rosário) combatting the growing influence of the new churches of the Third Orders of St. Francis and N. S. do Carmo. It traveled with the *bandeirantes* up the Rio das Velhas to Raposos and the not distant Sabará, in whose early *matriz* it is reflected, as well as in the subsidiary churches of S. Francisco and Sta. Rita; to Barbacena where it is seen in the façade of the great *matriz* of the Senhora da Piedade (1748). It is in Minas Gerais a tradition doubly *retardataire*, which had arrived in Brazil a century late and which was already losing its vogue at Salvador when the miner pioneers transplanted it to Minas Gerais. By the middle of the century it had been abandoned in the *capitania* in favor of another type of façade arrangement.

This is the system which we may now call almost indigenous and which was to establish a kind of unity among the majority of the great Mineiro churches. The arrangement was derived from the primitive chapels of the region, or rather was the continuation of their façade plan. It consists of a single entrance door and two square or rectangular windows arranged in a vaguely triangular form (the two windows being disposed diagonally in relation to the portal below). Between them the primitive chapel had had a small circular window which in some façades was placed directly between the two square openings (S. João de Ouro Fino), while in others (N. S. da Piedade at Ouro Preto) it is slightly above them.

This then was the general arrangement favored by the subsequent builders in Minas Gerais. The *oeil-de-boeuf* is placed above the other two windows in the main façade and the

75. José Joaquim Martins Gesteira: *Memórias históricas da villa da Pôvoa de Varzim*, Oporto, 1851, p. 33.

76. The tradition is further reflected in such chapels

as those of S. José de Ribamar and Sto. Antônio da Mouraria, built by the viceroy Vasco Fernandes de Menezes in 1724, both in the city of Salvador.



FIG. 20—Mariana: (Minas Gerais): Cathedral



FIG. 21—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of
N. S. do Rosário



FIG. 22—S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais)
Church of N. S. do Carmo



FIG. 23—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of
S. Francisco de Assis



FIG. 24—Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)
Church of N. S. Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos

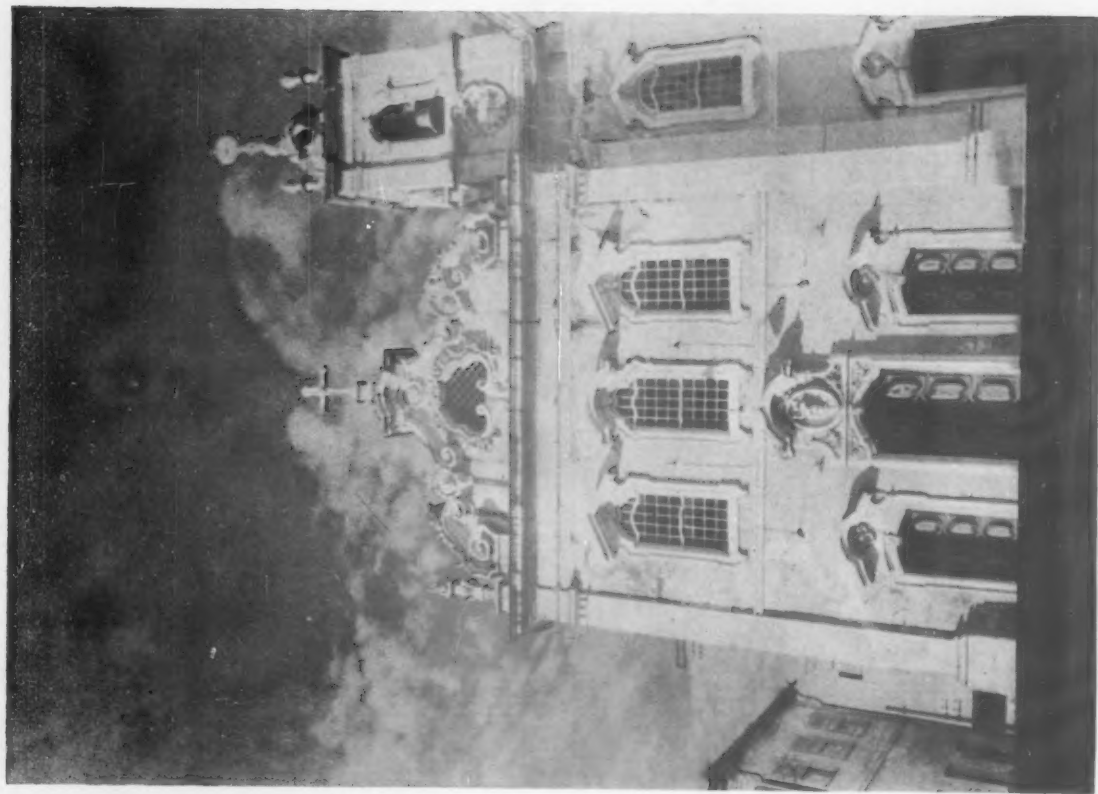


FIG. 25—Salvador (Bahia): Church of
N. S. do Pilar

cornice is allowed to break around it. Thus is produced a strange effect, bizarre and typically Baroque, which serves to vivify the whole façade. This time we need not seek the origin in Portugal; we know that the new plan descends from the original local chapels of the region (although they in turn were evolved from those of the mother-country). Among the churches of the eighteenth century in Portugal we cannot name a single example of this exact type of façade arrangement, though certain contemporary churches of the Minho possess pediments of oval form.⁷⁷

At times in Minas Gerais the small central window preserves its original form (S. Francisco and N. S. do Carmo in S. João d'El-Rei; Fig. 22). Occasionally it is replaced by a round medallion of low relief sculpture (S. Francisco of Ouro Preto). Many times, however, an extravagant form of irregular rococo lines was produced, similar to the extravagant windows and cartouches employed in such contemporary North Portuguese buildings as the church of S. Francisco in Viseu, of 1768, the chapel of the Malheiros family at Viana do Castelo, and the convent of Sta. Clara of Guimarães, which was begun in 1770. In one Mineiro example (the church of S. Francisco at Mariana) the irregular form of the window dictates the shape of the cornice itself. Windows of exotic form were used as well in the clerestories of these buildings.

This then was the habitual disposition of the central corps of the façade in the large Mineiro churches. There are never more than two rectangular windows except in the *matriz* of Caeté, that building whose plan had come from Portugal in 1757. This church has three such windows in its main façade (Fig. 28) like the churches of Bahia and the north of Brazil. But even here the architect has eliminated the other two which in the north were generally opened in the towers, thus producing a file of five, four, or three windows corresponding to the number of doors of the ground floor (Fig. 25). In this respect the façade of Caeté conforms to the *Mineiro* system, which reduced the windows of the lateral towers to the merest slits.

The pediment above the principal cornice of the façade received the most diverse treatments in the colonial churches of Minas Gerais. In general, the builders abandoned the simple triangular type used in the older churches and the chapels, nor did they seek to imitate the extremely exaggerated ultra-Baroque forms of the colonial schools of northeastern Brazil, especially that of Pernambuco, where the influence of the Italian *stuccatore* is uniformly evident.⁷⁸ In place of the rich stone candelabra and the flaming torches, Berninian elements that characterize the churches of the north of Brazil, fine sculptured moldings were used with at times a special accent on the round volutes at the angles of the pediment or the introduction of fragments of grandiose arches.

Generally within the pediment there is another window of exotic form, the companion of the one below the cornice or of those which in many churches were opened in the clerestory. In Ouro Preto⁷⁹ the pediment frequently assumed a special appearance with the introduction of a new element, a square section separated from the volutes by thin pilasters, which became a peculiarity of the architecture of the former Vila Rica.

The form of the lateral towers is in general rectangular, as in the rest of the colony. But in Minas was also developed the round or oval type (Congonhas: S. José; Mariana: S. Pedro dos Clerigos and N. S. do Carmo; Ouro Preto: N. S. do Rosário and S. Francisco; S. João d'El-Rei: N. S. do Carmo and S. Francisco; Barbacena: N. S. da Boa Morte).

77. For example that of the Congregados at Braga.

78. The church of N. S. do Carmo at Recife was completed in 1767.

79. It is to be found in the churches of N. S. de Pilar, S. Francisco de Paula, N. S. do Carmo, and N. S. da Conceição de Antônio Dias.

This form of tower had already been used in the important church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos at Rio de Janeiro, already discussed in connection with the celebrated oval plan imported from Oporto. But at S. Pedro the towers are excessively heavy in proportion. They resemble the strong towers of some medieval castle more than the delicately integrated towers of round or oval form which were finally evolved in Minas Gerais. It is the adaptation of these towers, their refinement and ultimate proportioning in relation to the rest of the building of which they form a part, that constitutes the principal architectural glory of the colonial school of Minas Gerais.⁸⁰

The Mineiros, except in the churches of S. Pedro at Mariana, N. S. do Rosário in Ouro Preto, and S. José of Congonhas, did not accept the concave façade which went with the round towers of S. Pedro at Rio. For their peculiar towers they developed an arrangement of their own which retained the square façade plan of the old Mineiro type but one which was delicately linked with the towers and the oval nave plan by sections of curving façade. This skilful method of transition is a special characteristic of the churches ascribed to Aleijadinho—S. Francisco of Ouro Preto, and S. Francisco and N. S. do Carmo at S. João d'El-Rei (Figs. 22 and 23).

The termination of the lateral towers presented a further problem which the Mineiro builders solved in a variety of ways. The first square towers had high pitched roofs of tile. They were similar to both the roofs of the belfries and the free-standing bell towers of the primitive Mineiro chapels and those of the great Counter-Reformation churches of Salvador (Fig. 20). But later there was developed in Minas Gerais as elsewhere, a more monumental treatment—that of a small cupola atop the tower. This is a disposition characteristic of all the great churches built after the middle of the century. The towers of circular form have cupola-vaults adapted to their special shapes and accented by rings of heavy moldings.

The single entrance door is one of the most important elements of this Mineiro type of façade. Even the plan of the *matriz* of Caeté, which had been drawn up in Portugal, does not deviate from this established rule of a single entrance portal in the façade. It constitutes one of the principal differences between colonial architecture in Minas Gerais and that elsewhere in the country, where churches were built with three or five doors in the principal façade,⁸¹ generally giving access to the long lateral corridors of the interior.

We may class these Mineiro portals in four distinct groups.⁸² To the first, which is the simplest, belong the doors with flat arches and slightly projecting pediments. Encountered in almost all the churches, they are used as entrance portals only in the less important temples. More frequently they are employed as subsidiary doorways, often as lateral entrances to the church, in sacristies, or elsewhere within the building. This is also the most common form of window frame used during this period. It was a popular type in Portugal all through the century, where it appears in all types of construction, from the

80. In Minas there is no instance of the roofs of colored tiles, reminiscent of Mediterranean architecture, of the Salvador churches of Rosário dos Pretos, S. Pedro, Sta. Luzia etc., nor of the ornamental fretwork balustrades of the viceregal city (Sta. Ana, Conceição da Praia, capela de Unhão).

81. Occasionally, where there is only one lateral tower, the church façade is arranged with four doors, as at Sta. Luzia in Salvador.

82. The Mineiro architects avoided the recessed portico or *loggia* type of entrance common to the Portuguese court architecture and introduced to the coast cities by means of the Franciscan monastic architecture of Pernambuco,

Bahia, Sergipe. An excellent example of this influence is the convent of S. Bernardino of 1763 at Angra dos Reis, another minor center of the Lisbon style on a peninsula just below Rio de Janeiro.

Another curious omission in colonial Mineiro façades is the *alpendre* or projecting porch, an ancient Portuguese device which was used so freely in the sixteenth and seventeenth century architecture in Pernambuco. Two well preserved examples of the Portuguese *alpendre* in Brazil are to be found at the seventeenth century monastery of S. Bento in Rio de Janeiro and the seminary of N. S. da Penha, on a mountain beside the sea at Vila Velha, near Vitória (Espírito Santo).

royal buildings at Lisbon, Mafra, Evora, Estremoz and Vendas Novas to the simplest chapels of the northern provinces. It was also a favorite with domestic builders both in Portugal and Brazil.

The second type contains the same arch with the addition of sculpture above, either in the form of a low relief medallion or of figures in the round resting upon the pedimental moldings of the doorframe, as in the churches of N. S. do Carmo at Sabará, N. S. da Conceição at Congonhas do Campo, N. S. do Carmo of Mariana or the church of S. Francisco in the same town.

The third type is quite different from the two preceding, and is a direct importation from the north of Portugal, where the single entrance portal was likewise the rule. Good Lusitanian examples are furnished by the Casa do Mexicano at Braga (1732), the chapel of the Malheiros at Viana do Castelo, the churches of Misericórdia and S. Francisco in Viseu, and the temple of N. S. da Lapa in Vila Viçosa (1756). Here the arch has disappeared and in its place we see a mass of undulant moldings recalling the portals of the sixteenth century Manueline style, with pilasters or consoles of the same waving form at the sides. Above is set either a sculptured medallion or a small window, around which hover ribbons and allegorical figures perched on fragments of architectural moldings, the usual Baroque repertory of *amorini*, shells and pious instruments. In the hands of the Mineiro craftsmen, especially in the *atelier* of the celebrated Aleijadinho of Ouro Preto, the sculpture took on more delicate forms, the doorways more graceful outlines than in the Portuguese models themselves (Fig. 15). In fact they represent the principal achievement of Brazilian sculpture.

The churches of Sta. Efigênia at Ouro Preto, built for the negroes in 1785, N. S. da Piedade, of Barbacena, and the Senhor Bom Jesus in Ouro Preto of 1771 (Fig. 29) possess portals of the fourth category—supporting a niche with the image of a saint.⁸³ It is of course a type encountered all over the Latin world in this period, the outgrowth of a popular form of medieval doorway, and is to be found in many of the most important rural churches of northern Portugal, as, to cite only one example, the royal *matriz* of Póvoa de Varzim. Thus the last type of Mineiro church door can be traced back to Portugal as well as the more elaborate forms already mentioned.

The broken pediment of the door of Sta. Efigênia is rare in Minas, for the motive was employed rather in the northern schools of Bahia and Pernambuco and in the Italianate Pará.⁸⁴ The doorway at Barbacena is one more example of Bahian influence in Minas, being a virtual copy of the portals of the present cathedral of Salvador. That of the Bom Jesus is closely related to a doorway in central Portugal, at the *matriz* of Oliveira de Azemeis, just below Oporto, where the same delightful St. Michael with a feathered helmet appears. These three doorways are a distinct rarity in Minas Gerais. Along with the similar portal

83. See also the churches of S. Miguel at Oliveira de Azemeis, S. Miguel at Guimarães (1710), N. S. de Esperança of Oporto (1724), N. S. dos Remédios at Lamego, and S. João Batista at Campo Maior.

84. This architectural motive, typical of the more classic and conservative element within the Italian Baroque, enjoyed a certain influence in Lisbon at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Appearing first in the portals of the private palaces (*solares*) of the Mouraria and the Bairro Alto, it passed into religious architecture. The solemn door of the church of Menino Deus (1711) displays two splendid examples. The city of Salvador preserves still two buildings whose doors were designed in the form of a broken

arch, the conventual church of N. S. dos Perdões and the chapel of S. Miguel (1731-1732). The purity of the architectural forms is continued in the moldings of the doorway. Other examples of the motive are to be seen in the portals and windows of Sta. Luzia of Sto. Amaro da Purificação, the Conceição dos Militares, Rosario dos Pretos, and other churches of Recife, Misericórdias of Olinda and Goyana (1726), and, in a very debased form, the door of the church of Carmelite Third Order at S. Cristovão de Sergipe (1752). For a further discussion of this subject see my article *O carácter da arquitetura colonial do nordeste*, shortly to be published in *Estudos Brasileiros*.

of S. José at Congonhas do Campo they constitute an exception to the local tradition of the *capitania*.

Before leaving the question of the exteriors of these Mineiro churches we should point out one last important instance of influence from the north of Portugal. This is to be found in the monumental stairways which lead to several of the principal churches.

Already in the seventeenth century Portuguese churchmen⁸⁵ had advocated the construction of outdoor stations of the cross. Those at Bussaco, built in the mountains near Viseu at the end of the seventeenth century, and at the church of the Senhor do Bomfim in Setubal (1710) rapidly became celebrated places of pilgrimage. But it was in the eighteenth century that this custom received its final development. At Mattosinhos near Oporto a new church was built by the *irmandade* in 1733 in honor of the Senhor Jesus de Bouças,⁸⁶ where a miraculous image of the Saviour connected by tradition with the Volto Santo of Lucca is preserved. Before the church a magnificent garden was laid out in which small chapels were introduced to house the Via Dolorosa. Already in 1722, under the leadership of the great archbishop primate, D. Rodrigo de Moura Telles, at a site near Braga dedicated to the same cult of the Bom Jesus, a whole mountainside⁸⁷ was being transformed into an immense Way of the Cross with endless stairways leading through gardens and past fountains to the chapels (Fig. 26). The work at Braga, which culminated in a new church of the Bom Jesus, begun in 1781 by the architect Carlos da Cruz Amarante, is the finest example of the north Portuguese religious garden, although that of the sanctuary of N. S. dos Remédios (1750), outside Lamego, is almost equally distinguished. Before the end of the century the north of Portugal was full of such pilgrimage churches with their elaborate staircases and chapels arranged in spectacular gardens.⁸⁸

The cult of Mattosinhos is represented in colonial Minas Gerais by the great church of Bom Jesus⁸⁹ in the village of Congonhas do Campo, situated along the road which leads from the towns of Queluz and Barbacena to the region of Ouro Preto and Mariana. Here in 1796 the sculptor Aleijadinho began the figures of cedar for the six chapels of the Way of the Cross and the twelve stone prophets⁹⁰ that ornament the monumental stairway before the church (Fig. 19).

The arrangement is in every way reminiscent of the great sites at Braga and Lamego, a provincial imitation of the religious gardens of the Minho unparalleled elsewhere in the Brazilian colony. Similar stairways, without the chapels and gardens, were built at the churches of Sta. Efigênia of the negroes and S. Francisco de Paula at Ouro Preto, and N. S. do Rosário at Sabará.

The interiors of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais lack the distinction of their exteriors. There is no way of discussing with absolute certainty the original appearance of the interior of one of the early chapels of the region, for they have in every case undergone great modification either in the eighteenth century itself or at some later period. Certainly they must have shared the severe simplicity of the exteriors of these primitive

85. Especially D. João de Melo, Bishop of Viseu 1673-1704.

86. An establishment of the sixteenth century, originally under the care of the University of Coimbra. See: Antonio Cerqueira Pinto, *História da prodigiosa imagem de Cristo crucificado, que com o título de Bom Jesus de Bouças se venera no lugar de Matozinhos*, Lisbon, 1737; *O santuario do senhor de Mattosinhos*, Oporto, 1884.

87. For a minute description of the details of this garden see: *Santuario do Bom Jesus do Monte, sua fundação antiga instituição da confraria, e descrição das suas*

obras, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, ms. 682, fl. 6, pp. 47-57; Alberto Feio, *Bom Jesus do Monte*, Braga, 1930.

88. Especially interesting among these minor sanctuaries are those of Abbadia (Braga) and Trofa. See J. Augusto Vieira, *op. cit.*

89. The church itself was abuilding between 1757 and 1779.

90. At the Bom Jesus de Braga in Portugal and at the church of S. Francisco de Paula in Ouro Preto the statues represent the four evangelists.



FIG. 26—*Braga (Portugal, Minho): Church of Bom Jesus do Monte*



FIG. 27—*Salvador (Bahia): Convent Church of N. S. do Carmo*



FIG. 28—Caeté (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Bom Sucesso; Detail of Façade



FIG. 29—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. Bom Jesus; Detail of Façade

buildings. In the period of great constructions, however, a definite type of church interior was evolved which was to appear practically without modification down to the end of the colonial period when the Neo-Classic style became firmly entrenched in Minas Gerais. It is rather in the woodcarving alone, the splendid *talha* of the Portuguese inheritance, that the gradual changes in taste may be noticed decade by decade.⁹¹

In Minas one cannot find those interiors of multicolored marbles which distinguish the churches of southern Portugal, where fine marbles abound, or those of the coast cities, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador,⁹² Recife, Belém, whither the marbles of the realm or of Italy were brought in the holds of the Portuguese fleets. The Mineiro craftsmen had no local marbles with which to work, and importations from the seaboard were next to impossible in the colonial period. So, like the artists of the north of Portugal, where the same conditions prevailed, they had to content themselves with sculpture in wood for the decoration of their churches.

The architectural design of these interiors is of extreme simplicity. The unvaulted nave without transepts is treated like a huge box made to house the richly carved altars and pulpits. This was the system in practice in the north of Portugal at this period (Fig. 30), a style of decoration that is met with in all the principal Mineiro churches (Fig. 24). Only at Mariana, where the local *matriz* had been raised to episcopal dignity was an attempt made to emulate the church interiors of the littoral. A transept⁹³ was added when the building was reconstructed and a stone veneer was applied to the piers. Occasionally, as

91. In the first churches of the great period we find the old seventeenth century type of altar, low and broad, with many concentric arches and gross twisted columns, similar to those of the present Sé of Bahia. In the splendid interior of the church of Pilar and in that of Antônio Dias of the same period in Ouro Preto are found altars with the curious motive of children, birds, and bunches of grapes. It is an old Portuguese element developed in the Manueline style buildings of the region of Torres Vedras and Alenquer and projected into the Beira sculpture of the eighteenth century. At Aveiro, in Ilhavo, and in the library of the University of Coimbra it flourished and was finally brought to the old capital of Brazil, where the church of S. Francisco still preserves innumerable altars of this *genre*. It was the period in which the Chinese taste had taken possession of Europe. There came even to Minas lacquer panels and sculptures painted with oriental scenes and figures, like those of the library at Coimbra, for the Sé at Mariana, and the chapel of O' at Sabará. Likewise local artists wrought for the altar frontals of the Pilar at Ouro Preto curious Chinese figures in exotic costumes of silk and velvet. This was the period in which the walls of the *capela-mór* were covered with woodcarvings of huge gilded leaves and the swollen heads of cherubim, when the low, square pulpits were supplied with stairs mounted on human busts, and when it was common to build galleries in the churches with rich balustrades of carved *jacarandá*.

Later, about the seventeen sixties, when the post-earthquake style was influencing the art of Lisbon and the coast cities, Mineiro taste changed, and the gilded altars became higher and more elegant in form, taking the place of the now suppressed galleries. Designs became more complicated and the taste of the *rocaille* was everywhere apparent, particularly in the magnificently carved doors of churches and sacristies (Mariana, S. Francisco). Much of this new *talha* was imported from Portugal, like that of the church of Caeté, executed by the Portuguese *entalhador*, José Coelho de Noronha. They had invented now the *docel*, the elaborated canopy of shells and tassels that surmounted the altar. In the *capela-mór* great oil paintings in richly

carved Rococo frames were installed (church of Tiradentes, and those of S. João d' El-Rei). In these latter two buildings, Carmo and S. Francisco, there appeared an important innovation—altars painted white with images of human proportions arranged in a Bernini-like stage. Finally the Neo-Classic taste reached Minas. All the *talha* was painted a monotonous gold and white, there was a return to the classic orders, arches were strictly interpreted, statues grew silent (Ouro Preto, Carmo; Barbacena, N. S. da Boa Morte). This was of course the end of the artistic tradition in the churches of Minas Gerais.

What especial characteristics distinguish these Mineiro interiors? First of all the absence of those brilliantly painted tiles which occur in all the Portuguese and Bahian churches. Only at the Carmo of Ouro Preto are they to be found, though they are simulated in the church of the same invocation at Sabará. The custom of placing in the roof of the chancel the carved wooden figures of the four evangelists and veritable heads of *caciques* on the interior lavabos. Finally the painted ceilings with their series of small compositions allusive to the virtues of the Holy Virgin (*matriz* of Sabará, Rosário of Tiradentes), unique in Brazil, which recall the similar ceilings of the chapel of the Senhor Jesus do Bomfim at Setubal, in Portugal.

92. The interiors of many of the principal churches of Salvador are resplendent with rich *intaglios* of precious marbles introduced into the pavements, pulpits, and walls of the chapels in imitation of a series of magnificent interiors created in the Lisbon churches at the beginning of the century (the sacristy called "of D. Pedro II" at S. Vicente, the church of the Menino Deus, etc.). The best examples at Salvador are: Misericórdia (loggia and stair, details of the sacristy); present cathedral of Bahia (pulpits and altars of the sacristy, pavements, and chapels of the nave); S. Francisco (pavement of the *capela-mór*); the conventual church of N. S. do Carmo (details of the nave).

93. The following churches of Salvador have transepts: Sé catedral; N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco; Sto. Amaro, N. S. do Pilar.

in the elaborate decagonal interior of the church of N. S. do Pilar at Ouro Preto, some use was made of the architectural orders. Were it not for their magnificent painted and gilded woodcarving, in altarpieces, railings, pulpits, statues and even whole walls and ceilings (Fig. 31) these interiors would be devoid of true artistic interest. Here, as perhaps nowhere else, the real character of the colonial Mineiro civilization is apparent in its architecture. In the impermanence of these church interiors, in their gaudiness which had so interested Saint-Hilaire, one feels the expression of that civilization, its hasty formation, the constant changes, the lack of enduring values brought about by the over-night scramble for phenomenal wealth.

The same is true of the sacristies of these churches of Minas Gerais. Instead of the elegant apartments of both the metropolitan churches and the country convents of the northern *capitanias* of Pernambuco and Bahia,⁹⁴ with their elaborate tiled floors and walls, their painstaking imitations of the copies of contemporary English and French furniture in use at the Portuguese court, their richly painted ceilings (Fig. 33), the sacristies⁹⁵ of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais (Fig. 32) contain the simple stone floors, bare walls and cupboards of the rural churches of Portugal. As with the nave interiors, the richness of the brilliantly colored woodcarving alone gives distinction to these provincial apartments.

THE HOUSES

"Each year there come with the fleets quantities of Portuguese and foreigners bound for the mines. From the cities, towns, coasts, and interior of Brazil go whites, mulattoes, and negroes and many Indians, whom the men of S. Paulo employ. There is a mixture of all: men and women; young and old; poor and rich; nobles and peasants, laymen, priests, and many religious of various institutions, many of whom have neither convent nor house in all Brazil." Thus wrote the so-called André João Antonil⁹⁶ at Lisbon in 1711. He states that there were thirty thousand men in Minas Gerais barely fifteen years after the first

94. In 1729, de la Barbinais had already praised that of the Jesuits of Salvador: *on y admire surtout la Sacrestie; dont tout le lambris, est d'Ecaille de Tortue mise en oeuvre d'une manière fort délicate* (L.-G. de la Barbinais, *Nouveau voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1729, p. 182). In the year 1699 it had been visited and described by the Sieur Froger: *La sacristie en est des plus magnifiques du monde*. He noted its three altars, the great marble tables, the large windows overlooking the sea, and the fine *Plafond couvert de très belles Peintures* (*Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696, et 1697 aux Côtes d'Afrique, Déroit de Magellan, Brésil etc.*, Paris, 1699, pp. 138-139).

Probably from the last quarter of the seventeenth century date most of these magnificent ecclesiastical apartments of Salvador, the sacristy of the Jesuits, that of the Misericórdia, and that of the demolished cathedral, which was as splendid as any of the others. At the same time the sacristy of the cathedral of Olinda was decorated. During the whole eighteenth century the tradition endured, passing into the monastic establishments and those of the Third Orders (Salvador: N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco, Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco, 1703; Olinda: S. Bento, 1763, and S. Francisco, 1755; Recife: S. Pedro dos Clérigos, 1728). Finally rich sacristies were installed in the isolated convents of the countryside, lost in the cane fields of Pernambuco (Igaurassú, Goyana, Serinhaem, Ipojuca, etc.).

Little by little the room was losing its purely religious character, was taking on the appearance of an elegant

Rococo *appartamento di ricevimento*, like those of the Benedictine monasteries of Germany and the former Austria. See especially those of N. S. do Carmo at Salvador, S. Bento of Olinda, and S. Francisco in João Pessoa (Parahyba).

In the midst of this extravagant atmosphere there appeared certain minor tendencies quite characteristic of the region, e.g., the development in Pernambuco and Bahia of the type of chest with an infinity of drawers let into the wall of the room, which faithfully follows the lines of the Chippendale designers of England and North America (Salvador: sacristy of the Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco) and at other times those of the *armoire* of the Louis XV style (Recife: N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco, S. Pedro; Igaurassú: Sto. Antônio). They are always executed in the greatest splendor of the Brazilian *jacarandá*. The special use of a niche for the fine lavabo of marble designed according to the drawings of the decorators of Mafra and the rich chapels of Lisbon is another characteristic. The humble imitations at the convent of Serinhaem (Pernambuco), where a simple sculptor of untaught genius created angels, birds and shells for marvelously designed pulpits and a balustrade incorporating Jonah and the whale, alone recall the Mineiro manner.

95. The finest are those of the Pilar, Antônio Dias, Carmo, and S. Francisco at Ouro Preto; Sé, S. Francisco, and Carmo of Mariana; Sabará's *matriz* and Carmo; Caeté.

96. *Op. cit.*, p. 149.



FIG. 30—*Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa): Church of the Venerável
Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco*

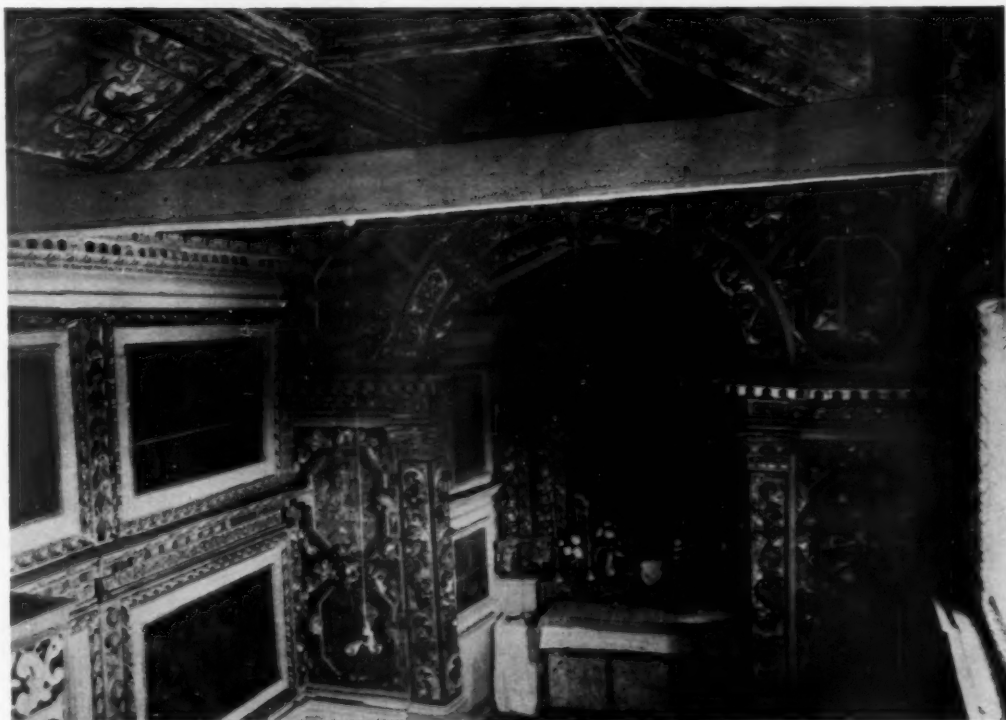


FIG. 31—*Sabará (Minas Gerais): Chapel of N. S. de O'*

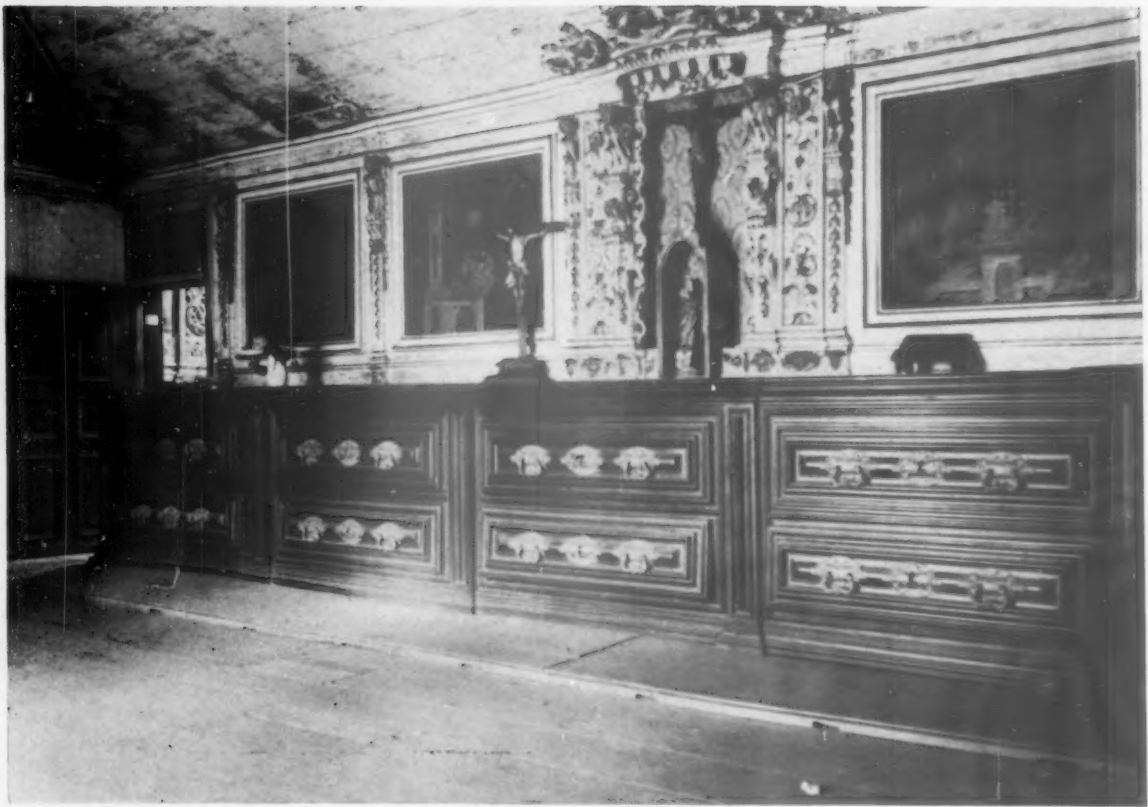


FIG. 32—*Sabará (Minas Gerais): The "Matriz"; Sacristy*



FIG. 33—*Salvador (Bahia): Church of the Venerável Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco*

discoveries, and that living costs were so high during the mining boom that a barrel of wine exceeded in price the cost of a slave.

This was largely a floating population that had invaded Minas in the first decade of the eighteenth century, making its way from one site to another in the constant search for gold. But these men, transients though they were, built the first dwellings of the region.

The cabins of the original prospectors were, like the first Mineiro chapels, crude constructions of mud and straw, the ancestors of the present Brazilian *mucambos* and *casas de sapé* (Fig. 35). A curious engraving dated 1749 of a lake near Sabará⁹⁷ shows in geometric perspective a number of these crude habitations. Still others appear in a nineteenth century lithograph of the town of Mariana in the midst of better built structures of rubble and stone, affording the singular contrast of palaces and huts that the Reverend Mr. Kidder observed about the same time in all the cities of Brazil.⁹⁸

As the mines were gradually developing there came into existence the Mineiro *arraial*. This was a small community centering about the mine, composed of the primitive chapel, the general store (*venda*), and a group of dwellings. At Ouro Preto in particular the chapel was generally located at the summit of the hill with the small houses of the miners sprawling down the slopes.

The second stage of Mineiro house building was by far the most important; in it the majority of the population participated. It consisted of the transformation of the original cabins into plaster-covered rubble constructions and the substitution of the earlier thatch roofs by tile. Thus it corresponds essentially to the second stage in church building in the region, when the provisory chapels of the first settlers were rebuilt in the more lasting form of the primitive chapels.

The resulting one-story house is little larger than its predecessor. The door is invariably at one end, with two windows occupying the rest of the brief façade (Fig. 36). The door and window frames are generally of wood, though occasionally stone was used. To support the widely overhanging roof,⁹⁹ a necessary feature in the rainy Mineiro mountain climate, a primitive cornice with brackets was built of wood. In the distant Diamantina these overhanging roofs and their brackets attained fantastic proportions and came to be lavishly decorated with carving. There is little or no attempt at the ornamentation of the façade. Alone the blinds of wicker or carved wood,¹⁰⁰ the *treillage croisé obliquement* of Saint-Hilaire,¹⁰¹ provided some relief from the absolute blankness of plastered walls and plank doors. But in general the impression is and was monotonous and melancholy. *Le plus grand nombre, bâties en terre et mal entretenues. . . La couleur des toits dont les bords s'avancent bien au-delà des murailles grisâtres des maisons, et les jalousies d'un rouge foncé, ajoutent à ce que le paysage a de mélancolique; et quelques bâtiments, fraîchement reblanchis, font ressortir encore les couleurs sombres des maisons environnantes.*¹⁰² Within, the door gives access to a short hall running the width of the house, from which open one or two rooms. At Ouro Preto where the streets are unusually abrupt and the inclines uncommonly severe, stone doorsteps are frequently encountered.

One house of this type at Ouro Preto has a definitely archaeological interest. In this

97. *Prodigiosa lagoa descuberta nas Congonhas das minas do Sabará, que tem curado a varias pessoas dos achaques, que nesta relação se expõem*, Lisbon, 1749.

98. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 239. He excepts, however, S. Luiz.

99. This overhang is called the *beiral*. Those of Diamantina are illustrated in Anibal Mattos, *Monumentos históricos, e religiosos de Minas Geraes*, pp. 465-472.

100. Occasionally *rótulas*, or wooden bars, were used, with solid wooden shutters on the inside. At Diamantina there were balconies enclosed in lattices as at Olinda.

101. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 119.

102. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 138-140. Saint-Hilaire counted some two thousand of these houses at Ouro Preto.

dwelling (Rua de Sta. Efigênia, no. 56) there are traces of Manueline decoration in the curious late Gothic arches of the doors and windows (Fig. 37). The stone of the original is, however, replaced by wood in this humble Mineiro dwelling. One is tempted to ascribe this house, the only surviving instance in Minas Gerais of direct Manueline borrowing,¹⁰³ to a nostalgia on the part of some colonial Mineiro for his family home in the north of Portugal.

Be that as it may, there is throughout Minas a general influence of sixteenth century Portuguese domestic building upon the early houses of the *capitania*. There are many examples, particularly in the Ouro Preto region, of lateral outdoor stairs leading to living apartments built over an only partly subterranean cellar, a type of construction common in the sixteenth century in the Portuguese Minho. Another instance of this influence in Minas Gerais is the tendency to build long, low houses in contrast to the high, square houses of the northern coastal cities.¹⁰⁴

As the century progressed a third stage of house building occurred, which also finds its counterpart in the history of local church construction. It is represented by the gradual introduction of stone masonry in the houses built around the middle of the century. We find now a new tendency to place the doorway in the center of the façade instead of at the end as well as to give the new door and window frames of Italcolumi stone a more architectural treatment. In an example from the town of Sta. Luzia¹⁰⁵ the moldings employed are similar to those of the first and simplest category of church portals (Fig. 34). Regular cornices now appeared, generally of plaster, in accordance with the old Portuguese rural convention. Sometimes, however, the new cornices, as in the great house of Bernardo Guimarães on the Alto das Cabeças at Ouro Preto, were confined to the street façades. In this general movement toward the enrichment of the house exterior, angle pilasters began to be used. There is even an instance at Sabará in a house of this category of an elaborate Baroque treatment of a doorway, with volutes at the sides and rich carving over the pediment (Rua Dom Pedro II). This, in general, is also the type of construction found at the colonial countryhouses of Minas Gerais, such as the Fazenda do Borda do Campo near Barbacena. But since Minas was not in the eighteenth century an agricultural country,¹⁰⁶ such houses are extremely rare in the territory.

A further step in the evolution of the Mineiro dwelling was the introduction of the second story (Fig. 17). At Mariana these buildings took the form very frequently of long blocks of attached houses, patterned no doubt after the similar wings of the palaces of the governors and bishops, and the seminary of the town.¹⁰⁷ Wood balconies, like those of the northern Brazilian towns such as S. Cristovão do Sergipe, were favored for the upper story at Sabará; there is a fine instance of pierced stone work at Mariana. But, outside of a few examples at Ouro Preto, wrought-iron balconies were avoided in Minas.¹⁰⁸

103. The *pelourinhos* were of course designed in the current eighteenth century style.

104. These being derived from both Dutch and Lisbon influences. For a detailed discussion of these houses, see my article, *O caracter da arquitetura colonial do nordeste*. Small houses of the general Portuguese-Mineiro type, are, however, to be found all over Brazil.

105. Located immediately in front of the *matriz*.

106. Minas Gerais and Ouro Preto had not learned the lesson of S. Paulo, where, the mines failing earlier, the inhabitants had by the mid-eighteenth century turned to the soil (Mario Neme, *Piracicaba no século XVIII*, in *Rev. do arq. mun. S. Paulo*, XLV, March, 1938, p. 141).

Nor did colonial Ouro Preto possess any additional in-

dustries of value. Saint-Hilaire mentions the powder factory (not established until 1816. *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, III, 1898, pp. 779-781) and the pottery kilns. But neither according to him was a success (*op. cit.*, I, p. 150).

107. That of the governors was rebuilt in 1749 (Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, p. 150). That of the bishops, formerly the Chácara da Olaria, was occupied from 1753 to 1927. It is now the *Gymnasio Arquidiocesano*.

108. Delicate balconies of the French and Italian type are to be found in Belém, in the squares around the cathedral, and at S. Luiz de Maranhão, where many of the houses in the Rua Candido Mendes are derived from the Italianate type of palace which Ludovice brought to the Portuguese court.

In the year 1784 the *fermier-général* João Roiz Macêdo completed his great house at the bridge of S. José in Ouro Preto.¹⁰⁹ It was the most splendid private residence in Minas at the time, a building which could rank with the great *sobrados* of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Yet in its construction it differs little from the humbler houses of the town (Fig. 38). It is a low rectangular structure built of the local stone. Only the street façade, of nine bays, is given a monumental treatment. At the angles there are pilasters in two stories. The frames of the doors and windows are sculptured in the customary way, yet with richer detail than in any other house we have studied in Minas. The upper story was originally equipped with delicate iron balustrades, in imitation, probably, of the town houses of the coast.

The side and rear façades, however, preserve the old Portuguese rural type of decoration, which even in Lisbon itself has always held its own in competition with houses of a more formal design. The windows have the simplest stone enframements; there are no balconies. The heavy stone cornices which appear in fragmental form only at the angles of the building are elsewhere translated into plaster. Another Portuguese rural touch is the delightful third-story *mirador* above the sloping tile roof. Here again the traditional plaster cornice is applied. A detail of the vast rear chimney, which appears almost as a survival from the Moorish architecture of the mother-country, brings out the unpretentious character of this construction. Within, the palace contains a great stairway of stone with once again the ubiquitous plaster combinations in the old Portuguese style.

On the whole, the interiors of the Mineiro houses of this type were far from uncomfortable. John Mawe, the English traveler, relates: "The houses of the higher classes in Villa Rica are much more convenient and better furnished than any I saw in Rio de Janeiro and St. Paulo's [*sic*], and are for the most part kept in the exactest order. Their beds seemed to me so elegant as to deserve a particular description."¹¹⁰ The romantic eighteenth century poet of Vila Rica, Tomaz Antonio Gonzaga, mentions in a poem the elaborate interiors of Mineiro palaces, their walls hung in satin, brocades, and rich curtains, and with crystal chandeliers in paneled ceilings.¹¹¹

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Monsieur de Saint-Hilaire has complained that Ouro Preto possessed no public parks or promenade.¹¹² Yet this was the only town in Minas Gerais in which there is evidence of definite Baroque town planning. The laying out of squares and broad avenues in such a mountainous region, where towns grew up wherever there was gold, regardless of the site's relation to other factors, was naturally a difficult undertaking.¹¹³ Such, however, was the

109. Called the Casa dos Contos, or Accounting House, because in 1802 it was purchased by the Junta de Fazenda and used for such a purpose. It now houses the post and telegraph offices of Ouro Preto.

110. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

111. *Op. cit.*, Lyra XXII.

112. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 150.

113. Two similar *praças* on either side of the new cathedral, and connected by handsome streets, were laid out by the Portuguese architect José Pinto Alpoim in the flatter Mariana during the years immediately following 1746. In that year D. João V had authorized the return to the senate of that town of the lands upon which the new squares were arranged, lands which had formerly been the grazing grounds of the royal dragoons' horses (*Provisão do 2 de maio, 1746*, "Avizos, provizões, e cartas regias dirigidas aos governadores das capitanias de São Paulo, Minas, e Rio de Janeiro, 1704 a 1772," Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, M 1634, L 100, ff 89-90). The

order reads: *que fação logo planta da nova Povoação e legendo sitio para praça espaçosa, e demarcando as Ruas, que fiquem direitas e com bastante largura sem attenção a conveniencias particulares, ou edificios que contra esta Ordem se achem feitos no referido Sitio dos pastos; porque se deve ante- por a formuzura das Ruas e cordeadas estas se demarquem Sítios em que se edifiquem os edificios publicos; a depois se aforem as braças de terra, que os moradores pedirem, preferindo sempre os q̃u já tiverem o forado no cazo em que seja necessario de demolirsêlhe parte de algum edificio para ob- servar a boa Ordem, que fica estabelecida na cittação da Cidade, e sendo justo satisfazersêlhe o prejuizo será pelos rendimentos da Camara e primeiro que se entre na demarcação da Praça, Ruas, e edificios publicos so vos fará a planta pre- zente . . . que todos os edificios se hão de fazer a face das ruas, cordeadas as parêdesem linha recta, e havendo comodidade para quintais das cazas devem estes ficar pela parte detrás dellas e não para a parte das ruas em que as Cazas tiverem as suas entradas etc.* For the opinion of the bishop D.

accomplishment of the citizens of Ouro Preto, who before the close of the eighteenth century had built on a ridge between the two parishes of the town a great square with government buildings at either end and radiating roads leading to the various centers of mining in the region.

There is no record of when the town's chief *praça* was actually laid out. Probably it was evolved from a primitive market place of the days of the town's foundation. In 1737 it was already lined with houses and was being used for the festivities of the carnival and the celebration of events in Portugal.¹¹⁴

The earlier of the two official buildings now extant on the square is the residence of the colonial governors at the west end.¹¹⁵ On the twentieth of August, 1738, a *carta regia* of D. João V at Lisbon ordered the construction of a suitable building for the "governor, commissary, gold intendency, magazine, and secretariate within a single edifice."¹¹⁶ For the work he assigned 20,000 *cruzados*.¹¹⁷ A letter of the governor Gomes Freire de Andrade from Vila Rica the twenty-ninth of August, 1742, reveals that the work had not been commenced and that the former palace of the governors of Minas in Ouro Preto, the Casa da Fundação, which had fallen into ruin in 1739, had been constructed of wood and rubble.¹¹⁸ In the same communication he urges the king to appoint a Portuguese military engineer whom he had discovered in Rio de Janeiro, the *sargento-mór* José Pinto Alpoim,¹¹⁹ as architect of the new building, which he undertook to construct for the sum of 46,000 *cruzados*. In a royal letter of March 16, 1743 the new arrangement was authorized.¹²⁰ The stonework of the new palace was carried out by the distinguished Ouro Preto contractors and builders, Manoel Francisco Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga,¹²¹ with the assistance of José Pinto de Azevedo. The palace was first occupied in 1748 by the governor José Antonio Freire de Andrade.¹²²

Manoel da Cruz, see Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 151-152. The town prison was also constructed in relation to these new *praças*.

114. Feu de Carvalho, *Casa das audiências, camara, e cadeia*, p. 293. The square at this time also contained the Casa de Misericórdia and a now suppressed chapel of St. Anne.

115. The royal governors already possessed a country palace in the nearby town of Cachoeira do Campo. The original building erected under the Conde de Assumar in 1731 was an extremely simple structure with a patio and fountain, but provided with sumptuous gardens and a Portuguese cascade. In 1779 the governor D. Antonio de Noronha added the military barracks for the royal dragoons, the regiment whose horses grazed at Cachoeira after the conversion of the former grazing lands at Mariana into the two squares mentioned above. The country palace at Cachoeira became more and more popular with the governors of Minas as the century progressed and the Portuguese rule became steadily more resented in the cities of the *capitania*.

The former royal property now belongs to the Salesian fathers who have completely remodeled the buildings for the fashionable boy's school of Dom Bosco which they conduct (Padre Afonso Henriques de Figueiredo Lemos, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-104).

116. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

117. Since in 1695 the Portuguese cruzado was valued at 3 shillings, 6 d., the sum assigned would equal approximately \$16,800.

118. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

119. The architect is sometimes called *brigadeiro*, in reference to his calling of military engineer. Each colonial center in Brazil had its quota of these specialists in connection with their fortification (Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*). Fur-

ther mention of the architect's real profession is to be found in the epic poem of José Basílio da Gama, *O Uruguay* (first published at Rio de Janeiro, 1811), canto I, lines 100-108:

Vêa o grande Alpoim. Este o primeiro
Ensinou entre nós, por que caminho
Se eleva aos Ceos a curva, e grave bomba
Prenhe de fogo: e com que força do alto
Abate os tectos da Cidade, e lança
Do roto seio envolta em fumo a morte
Dignos do grande Pai ambos os filhos.
Justos Ceos!

The poet then commemorates the architect's son, Vasco Fernandes Pinto Alpoim, shipwrecked on a fatal voyage from the Banda Oriental de la Plata to Rio de Janeiro (lines 108-115).

120. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 690-691.

121. Feu de Carvalho states that the contract was signed by Alpoim and Lisbôa as early as 1741 (*Documentos históricos. II Construção do palacio do governo em Ouro Preto*, in *Rev. arch. min.*, VI, 1901, pp. 569-591). He adds that Manuel Francisco Lisbôa, as *mestre das obras*, had also the assistance of the stone masons Luiz Fernandes Calheiros and Antônio Ferreira de Carvalho; that Caetano da Silva o Ruivo was in 1741 awarded the contract for the portico of the palace. In 1741 a letter was received from Lisbon giving full instructions for the decoration of the building. The doors were to be painted grey and green, with *fechaduras inglesas*, or English hardware. The woods, canela preta, upiana, licorama, and guapeva were to be used. The last document involving the palace of the governors is of 1747. On the eighth of May, however, one Manuel Gonçalves was contracted to paint the *pelourinho* standing in the square before the palace, which in 1867 was removed to make way for the present monument in honor of Tiradentes.

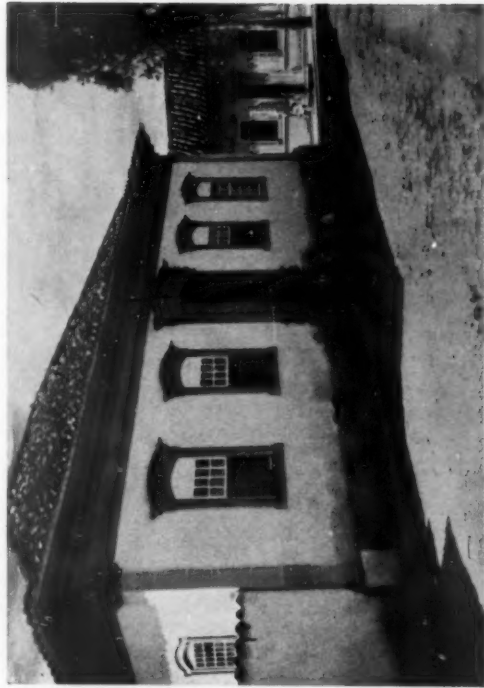


FIG. 34—S. Luzia (Minas Gerais): Private House



FIG. 35—Santa Cruz (Rio de Janeiro): Casa de Sape

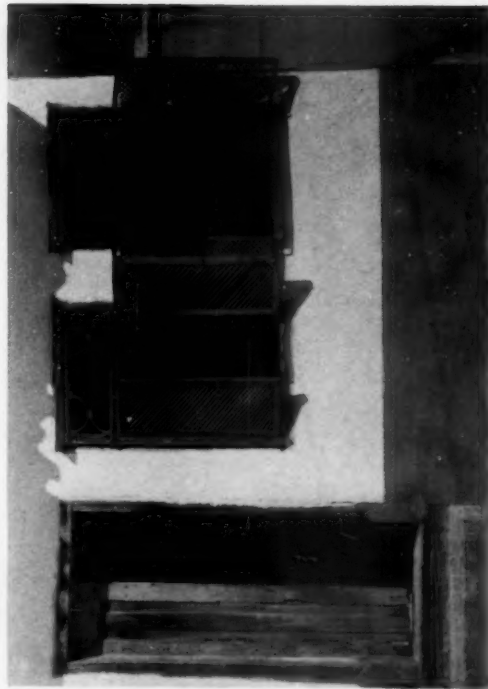


FIG. 36—S. Luzia (Minas Gerais): Private House

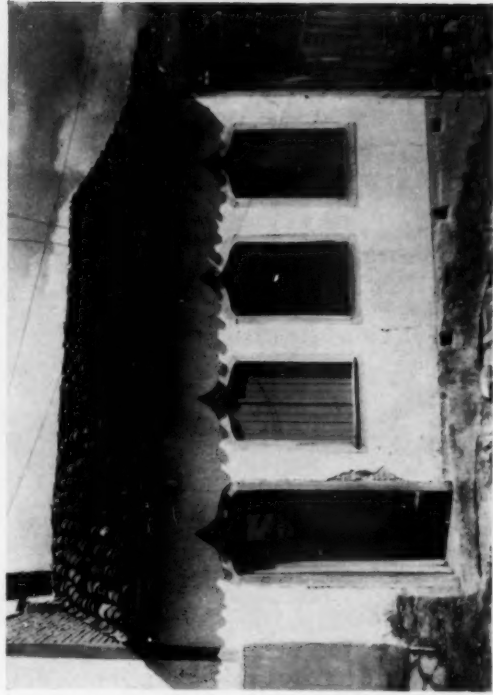


FIG. 37—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): House
in Rua S. Efigênia



FIG. 38—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Casa dos Contos



FIG. 39—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Governor's Palace

The building is what might be expected of a successful military architect. Foreign travelers have always condemned its architectural pretences and ridiculed its toy fort appearance.¹²² Built on irregular, sloping ground, its plan is composed of four rectangular bastions set above a lofty fortified substructure. It is approached by a broad angle ramp. Screen walls connect the corner bastions, forming a narrow central court with a stair leading to a gallery along the classic lines of the Alcázar of Toledo.¹²⁴

Appended to the south façade there is a delightful small chapel preceded by a vaulted stairway (Fig. 39). In its elongated façade, its elegantly sculptured doors and windows, and in its pedimental arrangement, the chapel represents a distinct break with local Mineiro traditions of religious church building. It reflects rather the style of the Portuguese court in its provincial application, as at the great castle of Estremoz (Alentejo), a royal construction of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Distinctly more successful, however, was the final building at the other end of the square—the present Penitentiary of Ouro Preto. This site, contiguous to that of the Carmelite church, had always been occupied by a kind of senate building.¹²⁵ As early as 1711, the year of the town's establishment, there was a provisional hall hastily adapted to legislative purposes by the governor D. Antonio de Albuquerque.¹²⁶ A temporary wooden construction, it was twice ordered repaired, but the work for some reason was never done.¹²⁷

In 1721 a *carta regia* from Lisbon instructed that throughout Minas buildings should be constructed in each important town which should combine the functions of a town hall and prison—*Casa das Audiencias, Camara, e Cadêa*. Two years later a new wooden structure was erected on the principal square with a fine wooden clock tower with an outside stair, the work being in the hands of a local builder, Antonio Moreira Duarte. The eighteenth century Mineiro poet Claudio Manoel da Costa has left an elaborate description of this, the second building.¹²⁸ It survived with many changes until the year 1784, when a third structure was undertaken.¹²⁹

122. He was the brother of the great Gomes Freire de Andrade, conde Bobadela, who in 1735 became governor of Minas Gerais, after having already served as governor of the *capitania geral* of Rio de Janeiro. In 1752 Gomes Freire named his brother, José Antônio, provisional governor of Minas during his own absence in the Banda Oriental as arbiter of boundaries. In 1763 the great governor, Gomes Freire, was killed at the taking of the Colonia do Sacramento (Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Historia média de Minas Geraes*, pp. 276–281).

123. Saint-Hilaire, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 144–145: *ce prétendu palais présente une masse de bâtimens fort lourds et d'un mauvais goût, dont la forme est celle d'un carré long, et à laquelle on a voulu donner quelque ressemblance avec un château-fort*. The author of *L'empire du Brésil*, of 1858, wrote: *L'Hôtel du gouverneur, connu sous le nom de Palacio, est l'édifice le plus considérable; ce n'est qu'une masse de batiments lourds et de mauvais goût* (p. 162). Finally, Captain Richard F. Burton (*Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil*, London, 1869, 2 vols.): "The Government House formerly accommodated the Gold Intendency in the lower part; the front looks like a 'chateau-fort,' a dwarf curtain connects two trifling bastions of the Vauban age, and its popguns used to overawe the exceedingly populous town" (I, p. 361).

124. The building now houses the great Ouro Preto Escola de Minas, the primary source of mining instruction in Brazil.

125. Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica. Casa das audiencias, camara, e cadêa*, p. 272.

126. The first governor, 1710–1713.

127. The following history of the building is all extracted from the above mentioned publication of Dr. Feu de Carvalho, the great Mineiro archivist.

128. *Villa Rica* (Ouro Preto, 1897), canto II, lines 41–73:

... Este padrão [the pelourinho] no meio se colloca
Da regia praça: quasi os Céus provoca
Soberba torre, em que demarca o dia
Voluvel ponto, e o sol ao centro guia.

Do ferro pau já sobe, e já se estende
Magnifico edificio [the prison] onde pretende
A deusa da justica honrar o assento;
Aqui das penas no fatal tormento
A liberdade prende ao delinquente,
E arrastando a miserrima corrente
Em um só ponte de equilibrio alcança
Todo o fiel da solida balança.
Da sala superior tecto dourado
Se destina ao publico senado
Que o governo economico dispensa.

Lavra artifice destro sem detença
Os marmores cavados; e de polidas
E altas paredes já se veem erguidas
As magestosas salas, que recolhem
Regios ministros, que os tributos colhem,
E em respectivos tribunaes decentes
Dão as providas leis; talvez presentes
Tem Itamonte já no claro auspicio
De um, e outro magnifico edificio
As que espera lavrar liquidas fontes

This new building, the present edifice, was designed by the then governor D. Luiz da Cunha e Menezes,¹³⁰ an architectural amateur of distinction, and largely carried out by Francisco Pinto de Abreu.¹³¹ In 1788, the work was suspended on the departure of the unpopular governor,¹³² but two years later it was resumed under his successor, the Visconde de Barbacena.¹³³ The structure was not entirely completed until 1869.

The building as it exists today does not conform exactly to the original design of D. Luiz de Menezes, for in 1846 the stair and terrace before the double portico were altered and a fountain was added. There is, however, an early lithograph, which, despite certain inaccuracies of proportion, shows the original appearance of the civic building (Fig. 42).¹³⁴

It is the only edifice in Minas Gerais constructed entirely of masonry without a plaster covering. The building is rectangular in plan with a central courtyard,¹³⁵ the principal

*Que vomitam delphins, e regias pontes
Que se hão de sustentar sobre a firmeza
De grossos arcos: da maior riqueza
Presentes tem talvez os sanctuarios
Em que se hão de exgottar tantos erarios;
Onde Roma ha de ver em gloria rara,
Que debalde aos seus templos disperiára
A grandeza, o valor e a preeminencia.*

129. In 1745 a contract for a new building was awarded by the governor Gomes Freire to the two men in charge of the work at the palace, Alpoim and Manuel Francisco Lisboa. The building, however, was never carried out.

130. There have been many attributions of the present building to the architect Alpoim, probably because he did prepare a drawing for the structure, which, however, was not accepted. The then governor, D. Luiz da Cunha e Menezes, who served from 1783 to 1788, mentions this in a letter, claiming for himself the authorship, to Martinho de Mello e Castro, dated September 6, 1786: *conforme a sua planta e prospecto incluso que eu fiz pella minha propria mão, e lho dei que por este modo e em tudo hé muito differente do que fez e lhe vendeu o sobredito Alpoim* (Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica* . . . , p. 311).

131. He built in particular the tower and a part of the great audience chamber (*ibid.*, p. 316).

132. The governor, violent and conservative to a degree unusual even in Portuguese officials of the colonial period, had aroused the animosity of Minas Gerais. It is significant that the great conspiracy of the Inconfidentes, which broke out just after his administration (1789), was led by men driven beyond endurance by the relentless attitude of Dom Luiz. His actions in the course of erecting the civic building had called forth universal condemnation. Not content with convict labor, he had pressed into enforced service all the renegade negroes, wastrels, and vagrants of the *capitania*. He had sequestered the oxen and carts of the citizenry, even those of the pilgrimage shrine of Matto-sinhos, which to the devout Mineiros had appeared an unforgivable sacrilege. These acts were detailed and protested in the bitter anonymous mock-epic often attributed to Claudio Manuel da Costa (*Cartas chilenas, treze, em que o poeta Critello conta a Dorotheo os factos de Fanfarrão Minezio, governador do Chile*). The poem was not published until 1863, when an edition appeared in Rio de Janeiro. It was probably composed in 1786.

In the Third Letter, entitled *Em que se conta as injusticias e violencias que Fanfarrão executou por causa de uma cadêa, a que deu principio*, there occurs a curious satirical description of the governor's intentions and of the building itself which deserves to be presented along with the description by Claudio Manuel of the second building:

*Pretende, Dorotheo, o nosso Chefe
Erguer uma Cadêa magestosa,
Que possa escurecer a velha fama
Da torre de Babel, e mais dos grandes*

*Custosos edificios que fizeram
Para sepulchros seus os reis do Egypto.
Talvez, presado Amigo, que imagine,
Que neste monumento se conserve
Eterna a sua gloria; bem que os povos
Ingratos não consagrem ricos bustos,
Nem montadas estatuas ao seu nome.
Desiste, louco Chefe, dessa empreza;
Um soberbo edificio levantado
Sobre ossos de innocentos, construido
Com lagrimas dos pobres, nunca serve
De gloria ao seu autor, mas sim de opprobrio.
Desenha o nosso Chefe, sobre a banca,
Desta forte cadêa o grande risco,
A proporção de genio, e não das forcas
Da terra decadente, aonde habita.
Ora pois, doce Amigo vou pintar-te
Ao menos o formoso frontispicio:
Verás, se pede machina tamanha
Humilde povoado, aonde os grandes
Morão em casas de madeira a pique.*

*Em cima de espaçosa escadaria,
Se forma do edificio a nobre entrada,
Por dous soberbos arcos dividida,
Por fôra destes se levantão
Trez jonicas columnas, que se firmão
Sobre quadradas bases, aonde assenta
Uma formosa regular varanda;
Seus baluartes são das alvas pedras,
Que brandos ferros cortão sem trabalho.
Debaixo da cornija, ou projectura,
Estão as armas deste Reino abertas
No liso centro de vistosa tarja.
Do meio desta fronte para os lados
Vistosas galerias de janellas,
A quem enfeitião as douradas grades.*

*E sabes, Dorotheo, quem edifica
Esta grande cadêa? Não, não sabes;
Pois ouve, que t'o digo: um pobre Chefe,
Que na Côte habitou em umas casas
Em que já mem se abrião as janellas.
E sabes para quem? Tambem não sabes:
Pois eu tambem t'o digo: para uns negros
Que vivem (quando muito) em vis cabanas,
Fugidos dos senhores, lá nos matos . . . (lines 66-114)*

133. D. Luiz Antonio Furtado de Mendonça, visconde de Barbacena, tenth governor of Minas Gerais, 1788-1797.

134. H. Burmeister, *Landschaftliche Bilder Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1853, pl. 9.

135. The very nature of the building and the attitude of the present administration render it impossible for any but an official personage to conduct a thorough study of its interior.



FIG. 40—*S. Amaro da Purificação (Bahia): Casa da Camara*



FIG. 41—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): The Aljube*



FIG. 42—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Penitenciária

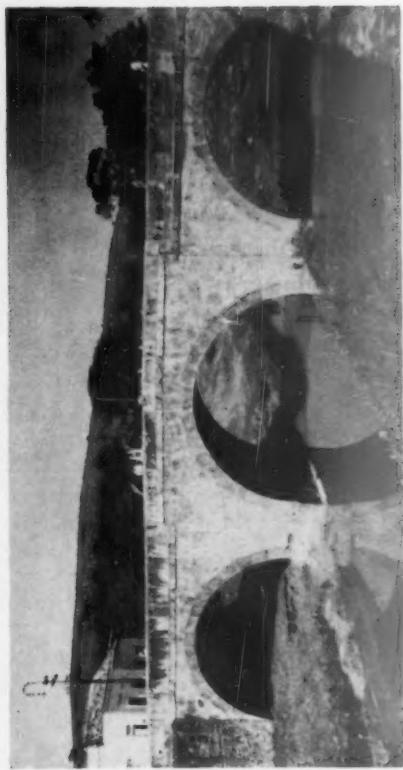


FIG. 43—S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais): Upper Bridge



FIG. 44—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Ponte de Ouro Preto

façade, of ten bays, slightly projecting. Cornices, stringcourses, and balustrades are throughout well carved. The building has an air of formal distinction which sets it apart from most of the architecture of the former *capitania*.

A recent writer has pointed out the marked resemblance between the civic building at Ouro Preto and the central building of the Campidoglio group in Rome.¹³⁶ The very fact that the Brazilian structure was designed by an amateur of the Italophile Lisbon court temporarily absent from Portugal would point in that direction. Yet we must remember that the central tower, which is perhaps the most striking point of comparison,¹³⁷ was a regular feature of such buildings in Brazil. The *casa da camara* of Sto. Amaro da Purificação in the Bahian Recôncavo, built at the very beginning of the century (1710), displays such a tower containing a clock (Fig. 40). The general lines of these two buildings erected for the same purpose are essentially the same. The motive of the ground story *loggia*¹³⁸ at Sto. Amaro is repeated in the simple arched doorways at Ouro Preto. The low pitched roofs of both buildings are masked by balustrades. The *casa da camara* of Mariana, which dates from 1756, reveals a simpler statement of the problem, a veritable reversion to the old lines and decorative system of the north of Portugal, but the central bell tower is still the feature of the principal façade.¹³⁹ This civic building of Ouro Preto, then, though related to Michelangelo's capitol at Rome, still reflects in its façade the native traditions of Brazil.

A final public building of distinction in Minas Gerais is the Aljube,¹⁴⁰ or ecclesiastical prison of the town of Mariana, begun in 1752. Once again we are impressed by the informality of the structure (Fig. 41). The virtual replica of a private palace in the northern Portuguese town of Guimarães,¹⁴¹ the prison of Mariana shares with the Macêdo house at Ouro Preto the rich angle pilasters and door and window frames carved of local stone. The shell cartouches of the pediments of the upper windows recall the delicate sculpture of the third category of Mineiro church doors. But the prison is in its design essentially a private house put to public purposes.¹⁴² In this respect it is characteristic of the simple rural tradition of northern Portugal, which, brought to Brazil, became inseparably associated with the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais.

136. Léon Kochnitzky, *Ouro-Preto: or noir*, in *La renaissance*, XIX (Oct.-Dec., 1936), pp. 39-46.

137. But the resemblance between the two buildings is a very superficial one, involving merely the general mass and the tower. The building at Ouro Preto lacks the projecting end pavilions, the single portal, the colossal order of pilasters of the Roman building. On the other hand, Michelangelo's palace is without the projecting central member and the pediment of D. Luiz's structure. The design of the two towers is strikingly different.

In view of these facts it is difficult indeed to follow Kochnitzky's reasoning that *l'imitation du Capitole de Rome est flagrante* (*ibid.*, p. 42). I have already discussed this point in my section of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 1937 (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), item 408.

138. Another very interesting example of the ground story *loggia* occurs at the colonial *fazenda* of Jurujuba near Rio de Janeiro discussed by Paulo T. Barreto (*Uma casa de fazenda em Jurujuba*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, 1937, pp. 69-77). The motive itself is probably derived in Brazil from the distinctive façade treatment of the monastic orders discussed above (note 82).

139. The exterior decorative staircase which this building in company with the civic building of Ouro Preto possesses may also show the influence of the north of Brazil (though the motive is common enough in the town halls of northern Portugal, for example that of Vila do

Conde). At Recife the very important palace of Vrijburg, built by Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1637-1644) and largely destroyed in the Dutch defence of that city in 1645, possessed such a stairway in its central corps. This part of the building survived through the eighteenth century to be lithographed for plate 28 of James Henderson's *A History of the Brazil; comprising its geography, commerce, colonization, aboriginal inhabitants, &c., &c., &c.*, London, 1821. An engraving by Alès (F. Denis, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 292) representing the town of Belém clearly shows a similar stair on what appears to be a public building near the fort. The same arrangement was an important part of the Governor's Palace at Salvador, constructed in 1663 and torn down in 1890, which is recorded in an old photograph at the Pinacoteca e Museu do Estado da Bahia, at Salvador. A curious exterior stair is placed at the side of the *matriz* of Bom Jesus in the Bahia de Todos os Santos.

140. The plan for the prison has been attributed to Alpoim, who drew up the general plan for the new town of Mariana (D. de Vasconcellos, *Historia média de Minas Geraes*, p. 278).

141. The palace of the families Lobo-Machado. It is illustrated in *A arte em Portugal*, no. 11, *Guimarães*, Oporto, 1930, pl. 43.

142. As also were the gold intendencies of Sabará and S. João d El-Rei.

THE BRIDGES AND FOUNTAINS

Through most of the towns of Minas Gerais flow a series of mountain streams: at Mariana, the Ribeirão do Carmo; at Sabará, the Rio das Velhas; at S. João d'El-Rei, the Rio das Mortes; at Ouro Preto, a whole series of tiny *córregos*, whose banks are sharp declines. These rivulets were at first crossed by crude wooden spans,¹⁴³ which have since disappeared but which are mentioned in the contracts for new bridges. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries some fifty stone bridges were erected to replace the older ones of wood.¹⁴⁴ At Ouro Preto, the capital, during the seventeen forties and fifties, five bridges were constructed of such excellent masonry that they have scarcely ever been repaired and in no case have they been replaced.¹⁴⁵

Simple spans of two and three arches, they reflect the sober eighteenth century bridges of northern Portugal. In general they are all smaller editions of the celebrated bridge of the town of Amarante near Oporto on the river Tâmega,¹⁴⁶ constructed between the years 1781 and 1791. A fine example of the Mineiro bridge is the upper span at S. João d'El-Rei (Fig. 43).¹⁴⁷ A peculiarity of these bridges are the graceful convex parapets with their side benches of stone surmounted by crosses (Fig. 44).¹⁴⁸

A final characteristic of the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais, and one of the most delightful, is the large number of wall fountains scattered throughout the Mineiro towns. An English traveler who visited Ouro Preto in 1828 was amazed at the number and variety of "the public fountains ornamented with sculpture, from which brazen dolphins and other figures are continually spouting streams of pure water."¹⁴⁹ And at Tiradentes he admired "a large fountain, of antique structure, and excellent pure water, which the inhabitants prize very highly, and call it by way of eminence, Chafariz."¹⁵⁰ At Ouro Preto there are still preserved sixteen such street fountains, while at Mariana there are three, and Sabará possesses two. Caeté¹⁵¹ and Tiradentes have one apiece. All, with the exception of the last,¹⁵² are of the wall fountain type.

These *chafarizes* were ordered constructed by the Mineiro senates between 1724 and 1820. At Ouro Preto bids were entered by such distinguished builders as Manoel Francisco

143. Alexander Caldcleugh describes a wooden bridge at Congonhas (*op. cit.*, II, p. 225).

144. Francisco Sant'Anna, *As pontes do estado de Minas Geraes*, Rio de Janeiro, 1929, p. 8.

145. These bridges are:

- i. Ponte de S. José or dos Contos. Bridge of a single arch constructed in 1744 by Antonio Leite Esquerdo. 4,000 cruz. MR. 150.
- ii. Ponte do Padre Faria. Bridge of a single span built by Antônio Fernandes Barros in 1750.
- iii. Ponte do Caquende or Rosário. Bridge of one arch erected by Antonio da Silva Herdeyro in 1753 on the plans of an unknown architect. 11,000 cruz. MR. 300.
- iv. Ponte de Antônio Dias. Bridge of two arches built in 1755-1756 by Manuel Francisco Lisbôa. 11,000 cruz. MR. 60.
- v. Ponte de Ouro Preto or da Pedra. Tiny bridge of one arch constructed in 1756 by Francisco Esteves. MR. 580.

Of later date is:

- vi. Ponte da Barra. Bridge of two arches built by capitão José Ferreira Santiago in 1806. MR. 3,000.
- Cf. Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica. Pontes célebres*, and *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*.

146. The architect was Francisco Tomas da Motta, of Adão, in the Braga district.

147. Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Phil. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien auf Befehl Seiner Majestät Maximilian Joseph I König von Baiern in den Jahren 1817 bis 1821 gemacht und beschrieben*, München, 1823, p. 317: *Eine Menge am Abhänge zerstreuter Landhäuser führen zu der soliden steinernen Brücke . . .*; J. C. R. Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, *Diccionario geographico historico e descriptivo do imperio do Brazil*, Paris, 1863, vol. II, p. 561: *dividida em duas partes quasi eguaes pelos ribeiros Tijuco e Barreiro, que reunidos num alveo espaçoço correm por entre dous soberbos caes de pedra, com duas pontes da mesma materia que não seriam indignas d'um grande rio*.

148. The cross in Minas took the place of S. João Nepomuceno, so popular in the Portuguese cities as a protection against disasters on bridges.

149. R. Walsh, *op. cit.*, II, p. 196.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 90. *Chafariz*, however, is not a term of especial distinction. It is the regular Portuguese word for a fountain in which the water descends as contrasted with one in which the water ascends (*repúxo*).

151. The fountain is dated 1800.

152. This fountain, dated 1749 and dedicated to St. Joseph, is of the rare free-standing type with a trough of water behind it for washing.

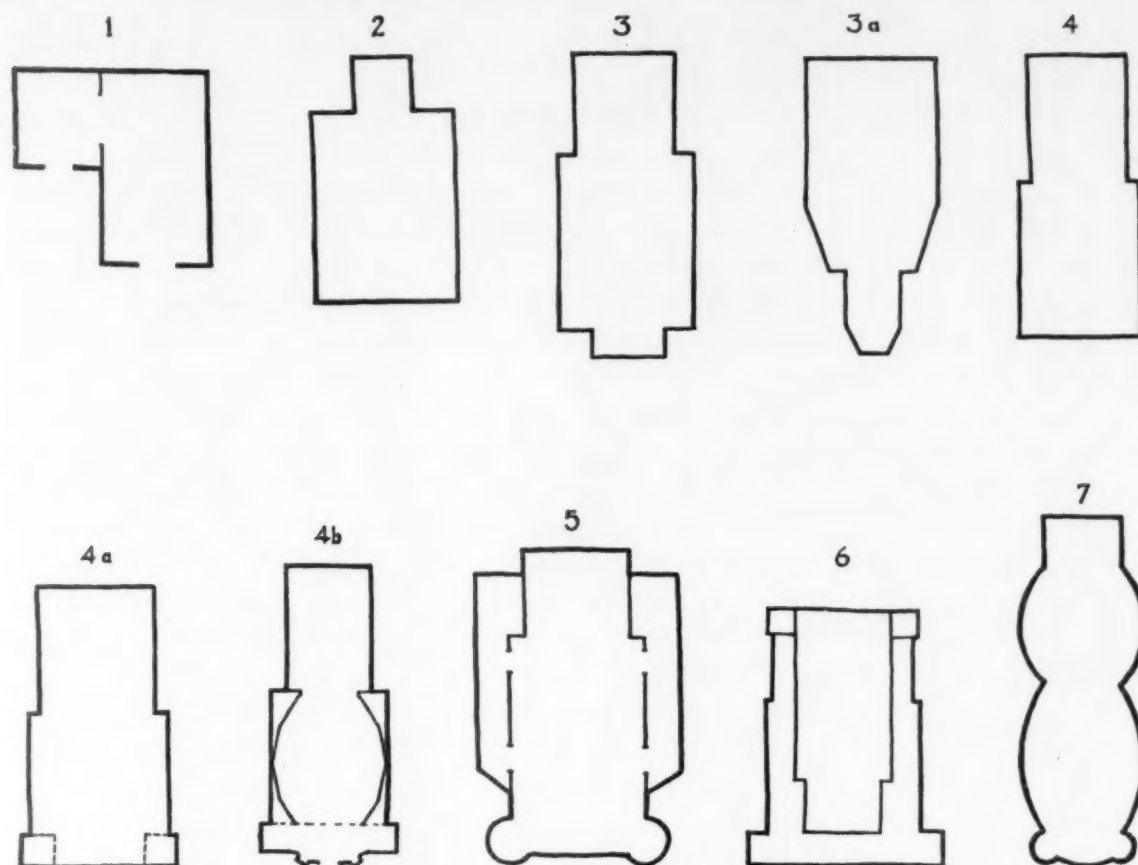


FIG. 45—Colonial Church and Chapel Plans in Minas Gerais
Diagrammatic Drawings, Not to Scale

Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga, while a number of lesser personalities were also awarded contracts.¹⁵³

The method of construction of these fountains follows that of the primitive chapels, the public buildings and houses of the region. At first the wall fountains were simple constructions of rubble covered with plaster. The undated *chafariz* in the Rua das Cabeças at Ouro Preto (Fig. 7), now dismantled, represents the early style of fountain decoration in Minas.¹⁵⁴ The simple enframement of pilasters, arched cornice, and diminutive obelisks is typical of the façade decoration of the first chapels of the region. The fountain itself is

¹⁵³. A list of the datable *chafarizes* of Ouro Preto:

- i. Chafariz da Casa da Camara. Built in 1724 by Antônio Silva. 1500 gold *oitavas*. It is now demolished.
- ii. Chafariz de Henrique Lopes. Begun in 1739 by Luiz Fernandes Calheiros; completed in 1747 by Teodósio Ferreira Lopes. 127 gold *oitavas*.
- iii. Chafariz do alto do Padre Faria. Built in 1742 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 400.
- iv. Chafariz do fundo do Padre Faria. Built in 1744 by João Domingos Veiga. 2,000 *cruz*. MR. 80.
- v. Chafariz da praça de Vila Rica. Constructed in 1744 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 1,595.
- vi. Chafariz da ponte de S. José or dos Contos. Built in 1745 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 940.
- vii. Chafariz do Ouro Preto. Built in 1752 by Antônio Fernandes Barros and Antônio da Silva Herdeiro. MR. 700.
- viii. Chafariz do Passo. 1752.
- ix. Chafariz do alto da cruz do Padre Faria. Erected in 1757 by Henrique Gomes de Brito. MR. 800.
- x. Chafariz de Antônio Dias. Built in 1758 by Manuel Francisco Lisbôa. MR. 1,160.
- xi. Chafariz da ponte do Ouro Preto. Erected in 1758 by Antônio Alves. MR. 299.
- xii. Chafariz da rua Barão de Ouro Preto. Built in 1761.
- xiii. Chafariz do alto das Cabeças. Built in 1763 by Francisco de Lima. MR. 400.
- xiv. Chafariz da rua Alvarenga (Cabeças). 1770.
- xv. Chafariz de Aguas Ferreas. Built in 1806 by Miguel Moreira Maia. 373½ gold *oitavas*.

Cf. Feu de Carvalho, *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*.

¹⁵⁴. There are similar fountains at the entrance to the Rua das Lages and in the Rua Alvarenga at Ouro Preto, and near the church of N. S. das Mercês at Mariana.

probably derived from such a Portuguese example as that at Viana do Alentejo,¹⁵⁵ which bears the date of 1740.

The *chafariz* of the Rua Barão de Ouro Preto in that town, dated 1761, represents the second stage of fountain production in Minas.¹⁵⁶ Here the pilasters, cornice, and finials are all of cut stone. There is some attempt at decoration of the surface. The bronze pipes of the spouts are hidden by the masks of Indian *caciques*, a popular feature in many of the fountains as well as in the lavabos of the churches. A large shell is introduced as a final decorative accent. But the workmanship throughout is crude, the design is awkward. Most of the *chafarizes* in Minas belong to this category, the work of inferior men during the period of great constructions.

But at Ouro Preto there is a third group of fountains distinctly superior in their design and execution. Two belong to João Domingos Veiga (Alto do Padre Faria, 1742, and Contos, 1745); two others are anonymous (Bomfim and Passo, 1752). Of these four the last is probably the most distinguished. Although the general shape of the monument is again clearly derived from the primitive type, it is given a more architectural treatment than the fountain of 1761. The stone pilasters are retained, but there is a fine cornice, surmounted by a broken pediment (as in the graceful *chafariz* do Padre Faria) and an architectural tablet containing a Latin inscription. The spouts are better related to the shell ornament above. In the fountain of Antônio Dias¹⁵⁷ at Ouro Preto, Baroque volutes are introduced beside the pilasters, while in that of the Contos they form the principal decoration about the shell.

In general, it may be said that the *chafarizes* of Minas Gerais lack the distinction of the best eighteenth century fountains of the north of Portugal (those of Viana do Castelo, Bom Jesus de Braga, N. S. dos Remédios at Lamego, 1738, and that at the cathedral of Oporto, 1721); nor do they possess the inventiveness of the charming lead fountains of the Passeio Publico of Rio de Janeiro,¹⁵⁸ or the monumentality of the fonte do Ribeirão, constructed in 1797 at S. Luiz do Maranhão.

In conclusion, we should admit that the architecture of Minas Gerais during the colonial period was not always of the first quality. There are many churches and public buildings in America and even in Brazil built in this period which possess greater architectural merit. The Mineiro style is not a monumental one, nor were its buildings always successful. We should say with Richard Burton that "nothing like the Pantheon or the Cathedral of Rome has yet been attempted here."¹⁵⁹ We should agree with Maurice Rugendas that the monuments of Minas are inferior to those of the court of Portugal constructed in imitation of the contemporary Roman style.¹⁶⁰ We should remember the verses of a colonial poet:

" . . . eu não faço
Do Brazil uma pintura
De sublime architectura
Como a que tem Portugal."¹⁶¹

We have shown in these pages the general dependence in many details of colonial Mineiro architecture upon that of the north of Portugal and the viceregal city of Salvador.

155. Of the practical free-standing type represented in Minas by the fountain at Tiradentes.

156. Other examples of this type in Ouro Preto are the fountains of Caquende and Alto das Cabeças.

157. The fountain of the Rua das Lages has this same rectangular shape, but with a much simpler system of decoration.

158. See note 15.

159. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 121.

160. *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* (Paris, 1835), p. 33.

161. "I paint no picture of Brazil with the sublime architecture which Portugal possesses." Joaquim José Lisboa, *Descrição curiosa* . . . (cited by Djalma Andrade, *op. cit.*, pp. 563-564).

But the fact that we have found traces of indigenous development, innovations of real distinction, proves that the builders of Minas Gerais were no mere imitators of their Portuguese colleagues in the mother-country and along the Brazilian coast. The achievement of these men, isolated in a distant territory, of little education and few advantages, in understanding the contemporary Portuguese style and adapting it to the needs of the *capitania*, makes the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais a distinguished accomplishment in the history of American building during the eighteenth century.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE COCK ON THE COLUMN

By S. A. CALLISEN

Multi sunt presbyteri, qui ignorant quare
Super domum Domini gallus solet stare.
Quod propono breviter vobis explanare
Si voltis benivolas aures mihi dare.¹

ALL of us possess well-formed opinions as to the correct representation of the Madonna, of Christ and His disciples, of the Crucifixion, or of the Last Supper, for we can base our conceptions upon innumerable pictures seen in churches, museums, or books. Religious art is now so much part and parcel of our daily existence that it is almost impossible for us to imagine the difficulties encountered by the artists when first they were faced by the problem of portraying the characters and events as set forth by the evangelists and of choosing a fitting symbolism for their cult. Such, however, were the conditions confronting the faithful in the second, third and fourth centuries of our era, for Christianity was then in its infancy, without long established traditions or fixed iconography so that at one time or another the representation of every important incident reported in the New Testament, which lacked immediate precedent, had to be invented to the best of the artists' ability. But it is impossible to ideate a scene without including objects previously known, and so the hated and despised heathens furnished the elements which Christian painters and sculptors were forced to use. During the years when the Church was suspect and subject to persecution, ancient motifs commonly employed as fresco decorations in middle-class dwellings, as for example vintage scenes, were adapted to the needs of the new sect because the very possibility of their ambiguous interpretation lent a certain protection to the initiates. But once the Church had received official recognition, such subterfuge was no longer necessary and the artists were at liberty to work as they saw fit. Yet the pagan past continued to haunt Christian art. Inevitably the Early Christians borrowed freely from the artistic repertoire of their pagan neighbors, not only purely decorative features, but symbols and figures as well. To be sure, many of these elements suffered considerable change, and those which once possessed special significance in the older cults promptly lost their meaning. Nevertheless, they remain preserved like flies in a lump of amber, and it is often possible to trace back their ancestry into remote antiquity, an exercise which may prove both interesting and instructive. The representation of a rooster perched on a column as figured on certain sarcophagi and elsewhere furnishes an excellent instance of such a survival and will be considered here at some length.

The rooster is frequently associated in Early Christian art with St. Peter in the scene in which Christ announces that his disciple will deny him thrice before cockcrow. At first glance, this particular incident in the life of the founder of the Roman Church would hardly

1. Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 12-16. The poem was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. I am indebted

for this and many other helpful suggestions to Mrs. R. Werrenrath, Mr. B. M. Peebles, Mr. Charles Niver, and especially to Dr. G. Hanfmann.

appear to redound to his credit, and yet the annunciation of the denial is rather commonly depicted on sarcophagi.² To be sure, all four of the evangelists recount the incident in substantially the same words,³ but this circumstance alone would hardly explain its widespread use. It is more probable, as Wilpert points out, that St. Peter was considered the ideal type of penitent: a person who redeemed himself after having committed one of the greatest sins imaginable.⁴ This fact would account for the popularity of the scene, and in the days during which the pagans still offered dangerous competition to the growing power of the Church, the knowledge that one of her most important members might backslide, and yet not be utterly lost, must have furnished rare comfort to the wavering. As the strength of the Church increased, there was constantly less danger that any member might become an apostate, and the Magdalene, as the personification of the penitent for the sins of the flesh, took the place formerly held by St. Peter, as the penitent for the sins of the spirit. St. Peter came to be regarded more as the founder of the Church and less as the perfect example of Divine Forgiveness, and the artists depict him with the keys of heaven but very rarely represent the annunciation of the denial.

Since the face of the sarcophagus was usually too crowded to admit any but a condensed version of the event, the customary iconography shows St. Peter standing at Christ's right, facing outward; Christ partly turns towards St. Peter as though to address him, while the latter displays his perturbation by raising his right hand to his lips. But, despite his protests of steadfastness, his future weakness in moments of stress is indicated by the rooster at his feet (Fig. 1).⁵ Occasionally this representation is reduced so that St. Peter merely stands at Christ's right with the cock at his feet, but all other clues as to the true significance of the scene are omitted.⁶ Apparently the iconography was not rigidly fixed, for on one sarcophagus the cock, standing upon a box or small cupboard, is placed between Our Saviour and St. Peter,⁷ whereas the earliest examples show the rooster perched on a tree behind St. Peter.⁸ More important for our immediate purpose are the representations of the cock standing on a cippus placed between Christ and St. Peter,⁹ or upon a column as on the left side of sarcophagus no. 174 in the Museo cristiano lateranense (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The latter is by far the most elaborate rendering of the scene and must form a starting point for the entire discussion of the iconographical problems involved.¹¹

2. Joseph Wilpert (*I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929, I, p. 119) lists some sixty-seven examples and the Princeton Iconographical Index has added many more. Wilpert has reconstructed numerous examples from fragments, and Marion Lawrence, reviewing his book (*THE ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, p. 534), points out the danger of this procedure especially in the case of the scene under consideration.

3. Matthew, xxvi, 34; Mark, xiv, 30; Luke, xxii, 34; John, xiii, 38.

4. Joseph Wittig (*Die altchristlichen Skulpturen im Museum des deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*, Rome, 1906, pp. 113-115) on the other hand tries to prove that the rooster is merely St. Peter's symbol and that the scene represents St. Peter fleeing Rome and encountering Christ to whom he addresses the words "Domine quo vadis?" August Heisenberg (*Ikonographische Studien. I Die Martha-Szene. II Das Bekenntnis Petri und die Ansage der Verleugnung. III Die Kirchen Jerusalems auf dem lateranesischen Sarkophag*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1921, no. 174, p. 71) tries to prove that the emphasis of the representation is placed upon St. Peter's willingness to follow his Lord even unto death rather than upon the negation. Both these theories are quite untenable as has been pointed

out by Georg Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst*, pp. 13-28.

5. Wilpert, J., *op. cit.*, I, pl. LXXXXVI. Museo cristiano lateranense no. 104. The annunciation of the denial on the lower register to the right may be taken as a typical example. There are, however, a good many minor variations in the presentation of the scene which need not concern us here.

6. *Ibid.*, I, pl. CXXIII, 3. Museo cristiano lateranense no. 116.

7. *Ibid.*, I, pl. XXXIX, 2. In the crypt of St.-Maximin. Wilpert (I, pl. XLV, 3) also believes that a fragment in Lyons showing the head of St. Peter and the eye and comb of the cock likewise represented the rooster on a cupboard. The piece is far too small, however, to make such a reconstruction certain, and it is quite possible that the cock stood on an abbreviated cippus or column. See Fig. 6 and cf. Fig. 5.

8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 120; pl. CVIII, I. A fragment from the cemetery of San Callisto. See also pl. CXXIV, 1-3, and p. 124.

9. *Ibid.*, I, p. 122; pl. CVIII, 2, 3. In the Museo di San Callisto and Cimitero di Domitilla respectively. They exist only in a fragmentary condition.

10. *Ibid.*, pl. CXXI, 3.

When the artist, wishing to portray the annunciation of the denial, turned to biblical text for inspiration, he was left with little support. The incident occurred immediately after the completion of the Last Supper and, although Matthew¹² and Mark¹³ say that the disciples "went out into the Mount of Olives," Luke and John make no mention of any change of locale. This vagueness in the narrative may be responsible in part for the variations in the representation of the scene and to some very slight extent it may account for the tendency to leave out all indications of the setting.¹⁴ To a public habituated to the use of symbolism in art, the condensed version of the scene showing Christ with St. Peter and the rooster at his feet must have been quite comprehensible. But, occasionally, as on the Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174, we discover an expanded version in which the cock perches on a column between Christ and St. Peter placed against an elaborate architectural background. Wilpert¹⁵ has attempted to explain this particular instance by trying to identify the buildings in the background as somewhat schematized versions of the Lateran Basilica, with its attached baptistry, and the Lateran palace. As to the rooster on a column, Rasponi¹⁶ reported that in his day (i.e., the mid-seventeenth century) a bronze cock on a porphyry pillar was to be found in the Lateran. It was associated, he claimed, with the incident of the annunciation of St. Peter's triple negation and was placed in the Lateran so that the Popes might "more easily condone the sins of others since even the Prince of apostles was not free from fault." And he adds a bit of interesting folklore: "Nor are those lacking who believe the cock, concerning which Christ our Lord spoke, to have crowed from this very column." The eighteenth century edition of Antonio Bosio,¹⁷ in discussing the scene on the Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174, repeats Rasponi's statement, but says that the column is now outside the church proper. Had this interesting monument survived, its approximate date might have been determined and Wilpert's theory concerning its actual depiction on the sarcophagus thus proved, or disproved, once and for all.

Despite the loss of the Lateran rooster, it appears possible to establish a prototype for the cock on a pillar, but in so doing it must be borne in mind that his representation on sarcophagus no. 174 (save for the addition of the elaborate background), is far from being an isolated instance in Christian art and nearly a dozen specimens may be enumerated.¹⁸ The examples in which both St. Peter and Christ or St. Peter and the maid appear may be

11. It has been suggested by Augustin Stegenšek (*Die Kirchenbauten Jerusalems im vierten Jahrhundert in bildlicher Darstellung*, in *Oriens christianus*, n.s., I, 1911, pp. 272-276) and by Heisenberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 50-51) that this expanded version of the usual scene was derived from a lost mosaic either in Rome or Jerusalem, but their arguments are far from convincing.

12. xxvi, 30.

13. xiv, 26.

14. A definite setting for any scene would, of course, be exceptional in the case of the sculptural reliefs on sarcophagi.

15. *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 121, 170-172. Stegenšek (*op. cit.*, pp. 272-276), and following him Heisenberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 75-104), have tried to prove that the buildings represented the churches of Jerusalem. G. B. Giovenale (*Il battistero lateranense*, Rome, 1929, pp. 84-88) believes that these buildings represent a group including the present baptistry of the Lateran and not structures in Jerusalem. Marion Lawrence (*Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West: Ateliers, Chronology, Style*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 1932, pp. 135-137) considers them merely typical fourth century buildings of no particular city. It is possible, nonetheless,

that the artist had some definite group of buildings in mind, in which case Wilpert's theory is the more plausible.

16. *De basilica et patriarchio lateranensi*, Rome, 1656, p. 62. He writes as follows:

In altera Nave mediae, ac maiori propinqua erat Columna Porphyretica, cui Gallus aeneus insisit & ad mysterium pertinet Vaticinii Christi Domini, cum Sancto Petro dicenti "Etiam si oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo." Respondit "Antequam Gallus cantet, ter me negabis." Adpositum vero in Lateranensi Basilica credendum est, ut eo videlicet Pontifices humanae imbecillitatis admonerentur, & culpas aliis facilius condonarent, quando ipse Princeps Apostolorum a culpa immunis non fuit. Nec desunt, qui ex hac ipsa Columna Gallum, de quo Christus Dominus loquutus erat, cantasse credant verum ea de re, quod certi afferre possim, nihil habeo.

17. *Roma sotterranea*, Rome, 1737, I, p. 134. "... questa colonna medesima conservata ora nel Laterano fuori di chiesa, etc. ..." This book was first published in 1632.

18. I am deeply indebted to Miss Helen Woodruff for most of this list culled from the Princeton University Index of Christian Art.



FIG. 1—*Rome, Lateran Museum: Sarcophagus No. 104; Front*



FIG. 2—*Rome, Lateran Museum: Sarcophagus No. 174; Side*



FIG. 3—*Arles, Museum: Sarcophagus*



FIG. 4—*Florence, Museo Nazionale: Ivory*



FIG. 5—*Lyons, Museum: Fragment of Sarcophagus*

divided into two groups. The Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174, the doors of S. Sabina (Fig. 7),¹⁹ and an ivory at Florence in the Museo Nazionale (Fig. 4)²⁰ show the rooster perched upon a rather elaborate column, which in the first two instances is channeled. On a damaged sarcophagus at Arles (Fig. 3)²¹ and possibly the fragment at Lyons (Fig. 5)²² the cock stands on a low drum, evidently intended to represent an abbreviated column. The Leyden sarcophagus,²³ the fragments in the Museo di San Callisto and the Cimitero di Domitilla, a lost sarcophagus at Arles (Fig. 6),²⁴ a fresco in the Cimitero di Santa Ciriaca,²⁵ and a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Fig. 12),²⁶ on the contrary, depict the rooster on a squared pillar or cippus. In the scene of the actual denial by St. Peter in the presence of the maid shown on an ivory in the Museo Civico of Brescia (Fig. 9),²⁷ and possibly on another ivory in the British Museum, London (Fig. 11),²⁸ the squared pillar is likewise employed. In some instances St. Peter and the cock on a pillar are placed under an arch, but Christ is omitted altogether, as on the column of the altar canopy in S. Marco, Venice,²⁹ and on a terra cotta ampulla in the British Museum.³⁰ On the ivory at Brescia a rooster on a cippus is used as an isolated symbol placed opposite the fish. Hence it must be obvious that the cock on a column in the scene of the annunciation or of the actual denial, or when associated with St. Peter alone, is sufficiently widespread for us to presuppose a fairly common antique prototype, familiar to numerous Early Christian artists, and it seems unlikely that the bronze rooster once in the Lateran could have furnished the sole inspiration.³¹

In searching, then, for earlier representations of a cock on a column, one might turn first to the Panathenaic amphorae which were presented as prizes to the victors of the games held yearly during the summer at Athens (Fig. 13).³² The games were either started, or revived, by Peisistratos circa 566 B.C.³³ and proved very popular. Contestants even came from the Greek colonies in Italy and North Africa, and the winners of the coveted rewards bore them home with them and had them placed in their tombs. Apparently the

19. Wiegand, Johannes, *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der Kirche der hl. Sabina*, Trier, 1900, pp. 69-71; pl. XV. Dated c. 432-440.

20. Goldschmidt, A., *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1914, I, pl. XL, 94c, p. 51. Fourth to fifth century; possibly as late as tenth.

21. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, pl. CXI, 2.

22. *Ibid.*, I, pl. XLV, 3.

23. Oberman, H. T., *De oud-christelijke sarkophagen en hun godsdienstige betekenis*, Hague, 1911, frontispiece. Marion Lawrence, *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 1932, p. 137; fig. 41. It is related to the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus which is dated 359.

24. LeBlant, E., *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878, p. 65.

25. Wilpert, G., *Roma sotterranea: le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, pp. 302-304; pl. 242. Second half of fourth century. This is a unique representation of the scene among the catacomb frescoes. Wilpert thinks that the artist added the cock on the column to emphasize the prophecy followed by the negation: "... il gallo: il pittore l'aggiunse per prolessi, affine di accennare l'esito della profezia, alle quale succedette la negazione." As has been pointed out, he offers a different explanation for the rooster on a column in the case of the Museo lateranense sarcophagus.

26. M. van Berchem and Etienne Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV^{me} au X^{me} siècle*, Geneva, 1924, p. 134. First quarter of sixth century.

27. Kollwitz, Johannes, *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage des*

deutschen archäologischen Instituts, VII, Berlin and Leipzig, 1933, pp. 15-16, 68. He dates it circa 370.

28. Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue of early Christian antiquities and objects from the Christian East . . . of the British Museum*, London, 1901, p. 49.

29. Gabelentz, Hans v. d., *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 18, 48. Late fifth, early sixth century. The cock stands on a square pillar.

30. Dalton, O. M., *op. cit.*, p. 158, no. 903. C. M. Kaufmann (*Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, Paderborn, 1913, par. 116, p. 287) calls the saint here represented Isaiah and not Peter. There appears to be some justification for this assumption since the male figure holds an open book in his hand and faces the Madonna and Child under the opposite arch. If Isaiah is intended, then the rooster as herald of Christ has been substituted for the more usual star. See *ibid.*, par. 145, pp. 336-338, and Isaiah, ix, 2, 6.

31. F. X. Zimmermann (*Die Kirchen Roms*, Munich, 1935, fig. 186) figures a bronze cock now in the sacristy of St. Peter's on top of an old clock. He believes the cock to be of the eleventh century and to have been placed originally on one of the campanile of the old basilica. But the size of the rooster would hardly have permitted its being seen if placed in so elevated a position, and it is more likely that it once stood on a column as did the bronze rooster formerly in the Lateran.

32. Witte, T. de, *Vases Panathénaiques*, in *Annali dell'istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, XXXIX, 1877, p. 294. My illustration by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

33. Walters, H. B., *History of Ancient Pottery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, New York, 1905, I, p. 389.

painted amphora was in the nature of a loving cup, for the actual prizes consisted of from 6 to 140 measures of oil.³⁴ After about 313 B.C. these amphorae disappear, and it has been conjectured that under the tyrant Demetrius, metal, perhaps silver, vases were substituted for the older and simpler earthenware.³⁵ No metallic examples have survived, but their continued use as prizes can be determined by their appearance on later Attic coinage and sculpture,³⁶ and in a mosaic in a house at Delos, which, however, cannot be later than 86 B.C., the year when the settlement was destroyed by Archelaos.³⁷ The amphorae were decorated on one side with a scene of the athletic contest for which they constituted the prize and on the other by Athena with spear and shield placed between two cocks, perched on Doric or Ionic columns. These vases are further identified by the inscription *τῶν Ἀθηνηθεν ἀθλῶν* ("from the games at Athens"). After 370 B.C. the cocks are replaced by other symbols which may be the eponyms of the archons whose names henceforth appear on the amphorae.³⁸

It is not particularly clear just why the cocks are shown on the earlier amphorae in conjunction with Athena since the owl, rather than the rooster, was her particular attribute. It may be that they were considered emblematic of contests in general, being associated with Hermes Enagonios, protector of athletic competitors, and with Hercules, as founder of the games.³⁹ Pausanias⁴⁰ writing in 147 A.D. states concerning the statue of Athena at Elis: "A cock is perched on her helmet, because cocks are very combative. But perhaps the bird might be regarded as sacred to Athena Ergane (the worker)." Apparently in his day the original motive for linking the cock with Athena had already been forgotten so that a number of reasons could be offered, and modern scholars⁴¹ have never been able to improve upon his explanation or deduce others more satisfactory. Roosters on columns appear but rarely on vases other than the Panathenaic amphorae although they are not entirely lacking. Thus in a scene depicting Menelaos seizing Helen, on a vase formerly in the Durand collection,⁴² we find a cock (hen?) perched on a Doric column, and it has been suggested that in this case it bears an erotic significance, although the actual representation appears to have been copied from the Panathenaic type.

But the question may well be asked: why, save for the exigencies of the space and design, were the cocks which flank Athena on the Panathenaic vases placed on columns at all? Strangely enough, the roosters on columns shown on the fifth and fourth century amphorae appear to derive from much older representations, symbolic of an ancient bird and pillar cult whose original meaning must have been changed or forgotten by the later

34. Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Smaller copies of the prize vases were apparently in everyday use, but these examples lack the usual inscription mentioned below. There are two such copies in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, G. R. 565 and 06. 1021. 51.

35. Smith, Cecil, *Panathenaic Amphorae*, in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, III, 1896-1897, p. 187.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 189. Eduard Schmidt (*Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich, 1922, pp. 85-86) believes that earthenware vases continued to be presented until as late as the last half of the third century, B.C., and Sterling Dow (*Panathenaic Amphorae from the Hellenistic Period*, in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 50-56) is certain that the series continued into Roman times.

37. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

38. Brauchitsch, Georg von, *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 51. For an excellent brief discussion of the Panathenaic amphorae and a complete bibliography see Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*,

Munich, 1923, I, pp. 330-333.

39. Brauchitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 107. According to D'Arcy Thompson (*A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford, 1895, pp. 20-26), annual cock fights were instituted at Athens by Themistocles and the rooster was generally associated with victories.

40. VI. 26. 3.

41. Schlumberger, Gustave, *Terres cuites de Colosé*, in *Gazette archéologique*, VI, 1880, pp. 192-194. Bather, A. G., *The Bronze Fragments of the Acropolis*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII, 1892-1893, p. 242. Baethgen, Ernst, *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum*, Göttingen, 1887, pp. 15-16.

42. Overbeck, J., *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, Brunswick, 1853, pp. 628-629; pl. XXVI, no. 3. A rooster sitting on the column to which Prometheus is bound is depicted on a kylix in the Vatican Museum; see Gerhard, E., *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1843, II, pp. 20-21; pl. LXXXVI.



FIG. 6—*Arles, Museum: Drawing of Lost Sarcophagus*



FIG. 7—*Rome, S. Sabina: Detail of Door*



FIG. 8 Mannheim, Antiquarium: *Votive Relief*



FIG. 9—Brescia, Museo Civico: *Ivory Casket: Detail*

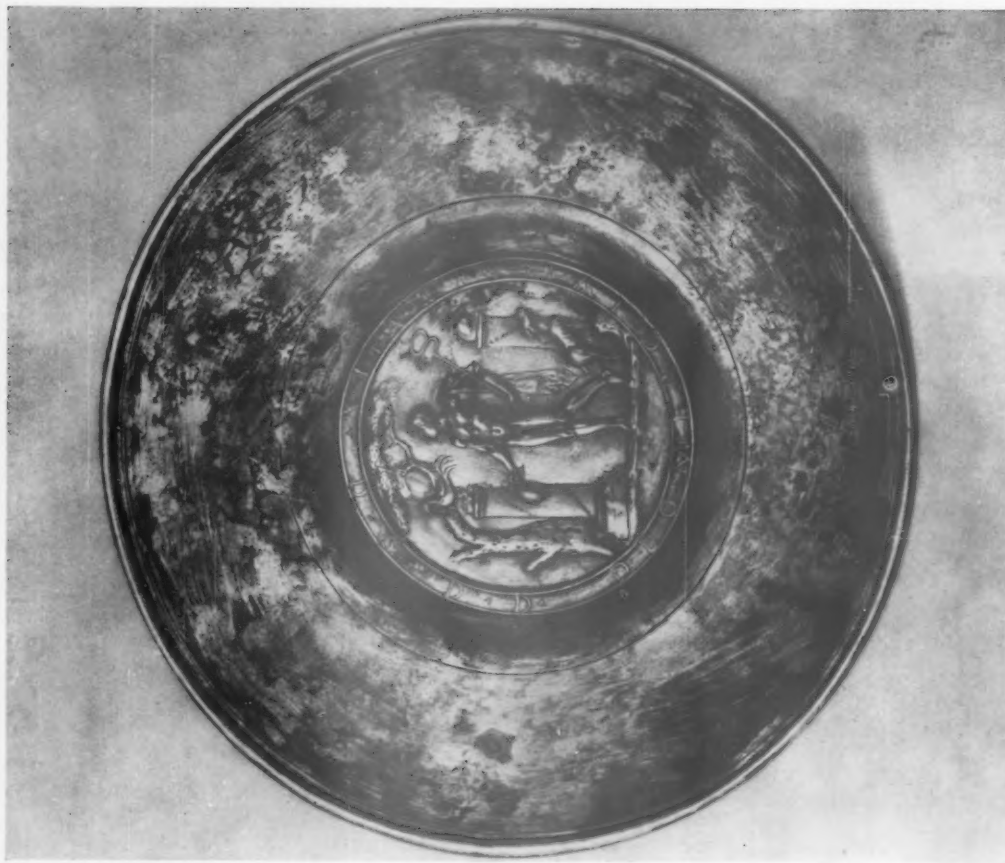


FIG. 10—Paris, Bibl. Nationale: *Silver Patera*

artists.⁴³ Thus, on the sarcophagus found at Phaistos are to be seen a trinity of dark colored birds, each perched upon a double axe affixed to the top of a palm stem. Three worshipers approach; one pours out a libation, the second carries a basket of offerings and the third plays upon a lyre.⁴⁴ Often the three palm stems are simplified and become columns, still surmounted by birds, as in the terra cotta example discovered by Evans at Knossos,⁴⁵ but whether it is a tree or a column, the symbolism is evidently the union of Ouranos, the heaven, with Gaia, the earth.⁴⁶ Although the exact meaning of the symbolism employed by the Minoans seems to have varied considerably elsewhere,⁴⁷ the bird and pillar cult appears to have been widespread throughout the ancient world, but tended to die out with the building of temples. It continued to flourish only in a few remote places, as at Dodona with its grove of sacred oaks and at Mount Lykaeos, where twin pillars surmounted by the eagles of Zeus, faced the rising sun.⁴⁸ In the Near East also, the bird perched on a pillar seems to have been considered divine, for beneath the basis of the figure of Artemis at Ephesus an ivory statuette was found, representing a priestess bearing on her head a pole surmounted by a dove.⁴⁹ Likewise in Assyria, one finds on the boundary stones, or *kudur-rus*,⁵⁰ dating from 1350 to 650 B.C., representations of a deity, possibly the God Aruru,⁵¹ in the form of a bird sitting on a column. There appears to have been some indication of a pillar cult in Rome as evidenced by the so-called *lapis niger*,⁵² and a survival was witnessed by Evans⁵³ at Tekekioi in Macedonia where an upright rectangular stone block was revered by Christians and Mohammedans alike.

But if the actual worship of birds on pillars died out at an early period, their representation, once it had become a part of the artistic heritage of the people, lived on, although the birds vary considerably as to species. Thus, the coins of Croton are stamped on their obverse with an eagle perched on an abbreviated Ionic column.⁵⁴ Likewise on the coins of Leucas the statue of Artemis is confronted by a bird surmounting a pole.⁵⁵ The woodpecker atop a column is common in Roman gems⁵⁶ and represents the *picus Martius*, the sacred bird of Mars, which acted as an oracle at Tiora Martiene in Sabine territory. An owl on a pillar is sometimes associated with Athena,⁵⁷ and a raven on a column marks the entrance to Hades on a vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁵⁸ This multiplicity of diverse examples proves beyond a doubt that the cocks on columns depicted on the Panathenaic amphorae form part of a long tradition and that they possess many ancient proto-

43. Harrison, Jane, *Bird and Pillar Worship in Connection with Ouranian Divinities*, in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, II, 1908, p. 160.

44. An excellent reproduction of the sarcophagus is to be found in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The original in the Candia Museum dates from c. 1350 B.C.

45. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII, 1902, p. 29; fig. 14.

46. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

47. Cook, A. B., *Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak*, in *The Classical Review*, XVII, 1903, p. 408. At Dodona Zeus takes over the oak tree of the Earth Mother. The sky-god sometimes was considered male, sometimes female, but the underlying symbolism of the bird on the pillar in early times remains the same.

48. Evans, A. J., *Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI, 1901, p. 127.

49. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

50. King, L. W., *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1912, pl. LXXVII and pl. LXXXIII; nos. 90835 and 90858. The bird appears to be a falcon or eagle or even an owl, but not a rooster, although domestic fowls were introduced

from Asia into Greece and Italy. See Peters, John P., *The Cock*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXIII, 1913, pp. 363-396.

51. Frank, K., and Zimmer, H., *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 39; fig. 8. Aruru in the Gilgamesh epic is the Earth Mother, or Eve, according to Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

52. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-204.

54. Poole, R. S., *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum; Italy*, London, 1873, p. 349, nos. 63-66.

55. Gardner, Percy, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum; Thessaly to Aetolia*, London, 1883, p. 179, nos. 78, 86, 98; pl. XXVIII, 15, 16. Date after 168 B.C. There must be some connection between the bird on a pole as represented here and the statuette found at Ephesus.

56. Furtwängler, A., *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, II, p. 119, nos. 10, 16; pl. XXIV.

57. Lenormant, Ch., and Witte, J. de, *Elite des monuments céramographiques*, Paris, 1857, II, pp. 11-15; pl. 2. The owls perch on Doric columns similar to those in the Panathenaic vases. The example discussed is a black figured Tyrrhenian amphora in the Louvre.

58. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

types. To be sure, they do fit their allocated space to perfection; but they were not the invention of the artist, nor is there any reason to believe that they derive from the ancient sport of shooting at a rooster placed on top of a column.⁵⁹ It will be observed, however, that despite the wide variety of birds represented, the cock is confined almost entirely to the Panathenaic amphorae, but there can be no ground for believing that any direct connection exists between the scene of the annunciation of St. Peter's denial on the sarcophagus no. 174 and these vases. The roosters, as we have seen, disappear from the vases in the fourth century B.C. and furthermore, although many of the prize amphorae have been dug up on Italian soil, they were not systematically discovered prior to the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Strabo,⁶¹ it is true, reports that at the time of the rebuilding of Corinth in 44 B.C. the graves were violated and Rome was thus flooded for a while with vases which had been buried with their owners. These "Corinthian mortuaries," as they were called, were highly prized, and it is possible that some of the Roman patricians may thus have come into the possession of certain Panathenaic amphorae; but the humbler craftsmen responsible for the Christian sarcophagi can hardly have known them. Hence if any link exists between the distant bird cult of Crete and the early Christian sarcophagi, it must be sought for elsewhere.

Just such a link does exist in the representations of the Gallo-Roman Mercury. This god was the most popular in Gaul, and in Imperial times there was frequently a tendency to fuse the Emperor and the Mercury cult into one and to depict the combined result accordingly.⁶² But Mercury was also the god of merchants and hence was more commonly represented, not as the messenger of the gods with a caduceus alone, but with a money bag held in his hand as well. Furthermore, he was often shown surrounded by the numerous symbols connected with his worship in its various guises, so that he becomes the special deity of all luck and happiness. Fertility symbols such as the goat and tortoise are common,⁶³ as well as a pillar,⁶⁴ but by far the most usual attribute is the cock,⁶⁵ the very animal which was to become the national bird of France.⁶⁶ In many cases the rooster stands at the young god's feet,⁶⁷ and one need only substitute the togaed and bearded St. Peter for the youthful, partly nude Mercury to achieve the same effect.⁶⁸ More important still, the rooster is sometimes placed upon a column as on the patera found at Bernay in 1830 (Fig. 10) and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.⁶⁹ Here Mercury stands three-quarters front, holding his wallet and caduceus and looking towards a cock on a column shaded by the spreading branches of a gnarled old tree, characteristic of the so-called Hellenistic reliefs. If we return now to the Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174 (Fig. 2), we realize that the buildings in the background are akin, in spirit at least, to those depicted on certain reliefs of the Hellenistic type and that the whole work, because of its superior finish, is close to the products of the best Graeco-Roman sculptors' shops. Thus we at

59. Schreiber, T., *Kulturhistorische Bilderatlas*, Leipzig, 1885, I, pl. LXXX, no. 7. From a vase in Naples. On the strength of this vase Otto Keller advances his obviously impossible theory. See his *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1913, II, p. 137.

60. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

61. VIII. 6. 23.

62. Monceaux, Paul, *Le grand temple du Puy-de-Dôme, le Mercure gaulois et l'histoire des Arvernes*, in *Revue historique*, XXXV, 1887, p. 249.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

64. Waldstein, C., *A Hermes in Ephesian Silverwork on a Patera from Bernay in France*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III, 1882, pp. 101-102.

65. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 250. Baethgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

66. Maury, Arthur, *Le coq gaulois*, Paris, 1904, pp. 51-68.

67. Reinach, Salomon, *Antiquités nationales: descriptions raisonnées du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, Paris, 1894, II, pp. 67-70, nos. 50-52.

68. Or has the artist substituted the figure of Christ for Mercury?

69. Babelon, Ernst, *Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville près Bernay (Eure) conservé au département des médailles et antiquités de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1916, p. 123; pl. XXIV. According to the inscription it was dedicated by Julia Sibylla.



FIG. 11—*London, British Museum*
Ivory Plaque



FIG. 12—*Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo: Mosaic; Detail*

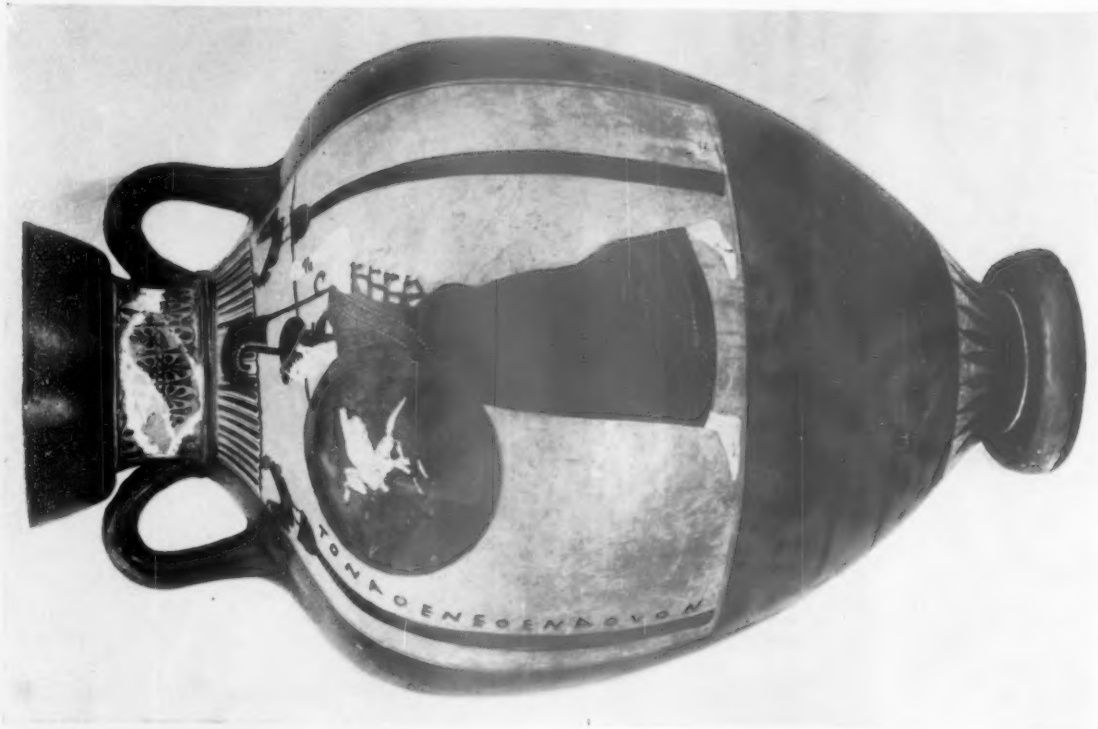


FIG. 13—New York, Metropolitan Museum
Panathenaic Amphora

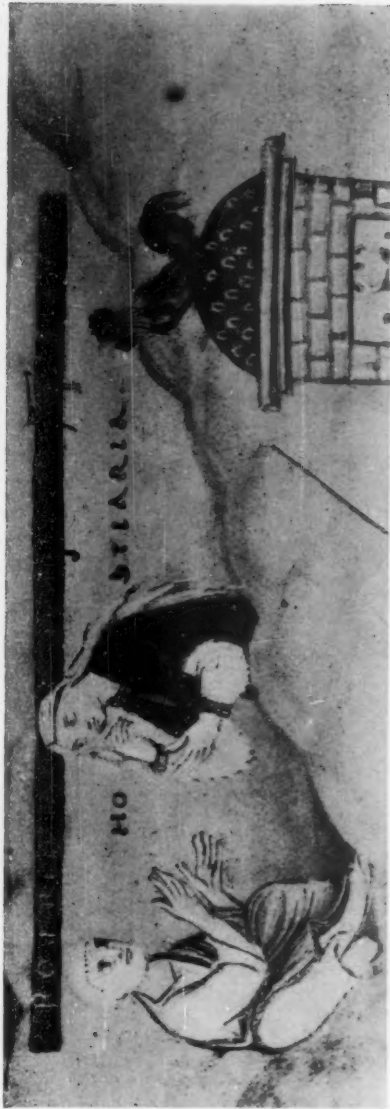


FIG. 14—Trier, City Library: *Miniature from the Codex Egberti*



FIG. 15—Beaucaire, *Notre Dame des Pommiers*: *Relief; Detail*

once sense a relationship, indefinite though it may be, between the repoussé work on the patera and the marble relief of the sarcophagus. It is true that the two columns are dissimilar in form and that the roosters, save for their heads, are rather unlike, so that (as is to be expected) there can be no question of any *direct* influence of the pagan example upon the Christian. Yet it should be observed that on the sarcophagus the cock stands, not directly on the capital of the column, but on a narrow, roughened block. On the patera three round objects (offerings or eggs?) and the end of the garland lie in front of the rooster's feet. Can it be that the sculptor had some such silverwork as that just discussed before him when he fashioned the sarcophagus, but, misunderstanding the true significance of the details, placed his bird on a roughened block instead?

A possibility exists, as we have seen, that the cock and column on the sarcophagus no. 174 may have been directly inspired by a rooster on a porphyry pillar formerly before or in the Lateran basilica, but even granting that in this one case the sculptor was trying to represent a well known monument, a theory which is open to considerable doubt, the question remains: how came the cock on the column to be placed before (or inside) the Lateran in the first instance, and was it a pagan or a Christian symbol? The Bernay patera with its rooster on a pillar furnishes a hint since it is more than likely that the silversmith who designed it had in mind one of the rustic sanctuaries popular in the days of the Roman Empire before the final and complete triumph of the Christian Church.⁷⁰ Certainly in France numerous terra cotta roosters, many of them standing on low, circular bases, together with the molds for their manufacture, have been discovered at Clermont, Toulon-sur-Allier, Vichy, Saint Pourçain, Aurillac and elsewhere.⁷¹ These smaller examples appear to have been votive offerings, or perhaps intended for some private shrine, but a large, bronze cock was found in the Saône and is now in the Louvre where a similar rooster on a degenerate form of Ionic capital is likewise to be seen.⁷² Such large cocks may well have been set up on columns in the fashion depicted on the Bernay patera, and the very fact that several have been found in rivers would lead one to suspect that they were thrown in the water when the heathen fanes were finally destroyed by the triumphant Christians. Thus, it seems possible that the rooster on a porphyry column which once graced the Lateran may have begun its existence as a pagan symbol. Perhaps it was brought to Rome from Gaul and in time, after its original meaning had been forgotten, an explanation for its significance was offered by the folklore of the Christian Church. We have but to remember the fortunate fate of the statue of Marcus Aurelius (rechristened Constantine in the Dark Ages) which for so long stood near this same church of the Lateran, to realize that such a rebirth into the new faith was not all uncommon.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the bronze cocks mentioned above, that the feathers of the rooster on the Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174⁷³ seem almost to have been inspired by some metallic prototype similar to the example in Paris and the same may be said of many of the cocks, not on columns, depicted on other sarcophagi. Furthermore, the Ionic capital on the sarcophagus no. 174 is but slightly better in execution than

70. Evans, T., *op. cit.*, p. 128.

71. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 251. Many of these are now in the museum at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

72. Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques exposés dans les galeries du Musée impérial du Louvre*, Paris, 1868, p. 207; nos. 956, 957.

73. Orazio Marucchi (*I monumenti del Museo cristiano Pio-lateranense*, Milan, 1910, p. 22) points out that the sarcophagus was found in 1591 near S. Pietro in Vaticano and was then after many vicissitudes transferred at a later

date to the Museo lateranense. It was never, as far as is known, in or near the Lateran itself, a fact which might argue against supposing that the actual surroundings of the Lateran basilica were depicted upon it. See also Bosio, *op. cit.*, I, p. 131. Marion Lawrence (*THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 1932, pp. 133-134) states that the heads were re-cut in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and that it was apparently in a fragmentary condition when found. She dates it slightly later than the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, i.e., 360-370 A.D.

that upon which a bronze cock perches in the Louvre. All in all, one can hardly doubt that, in this instance, the Early Christian sculptors once again borrowed a pagan symbol and turned for their inspiration either to some silver patera like that from Bernay, or to an actual monument set up to Mercury. This latter type, when charged with Christian significance would, no doubt, have given rise to the use of an isolated rooster on a pillar as depicted on the Brescia ivory for which Kollwitz⁷⁴ can find no explanation save that it constitutes a purely decorative element. It seems more probable, however, that the rooster on the cippus in this instance, although derived from a heathen original, symbolizes St. Peter just as the fish opposite signifies Christ.

The pagan prototype of the cock on a square pillar occurs even more commonly. A good example is furnished by a stone votive relief from Godramstein bei Landau (Fig. 8) now in the Antiquarium at Mannheim.⁷⁵ But this same variation is also to be seen depicted on the handle of a bronze patera discovered at Annemasse (Haute-Savoie) and on another found at Anse (Rhône).⁷⁶ In each case, a typical Gallo-Roman Mercury is shown holding his caduceus and wallet and surrounded by his symbols, including the rooster on a cippus, or possibly an altar, the shape of which, however, is similar to the square pillar to be seen on the sarcophagi, ivories, mosaics, etc. Hence there can be no doubt that all the examples in Christian art of the cock on a column ultimately represent the adaptation of a pagan motif to a new ideal rather than any sudden desire on the part of the artist to emphasize the rooster or because the exigencies of the available space forced him to place the bird in an elevated position.

Lastly, it has been noted that on the earliest sarcophagi on which the cock appears in connection with the annunciation of St. Peter's denial, the rooster perches in a tree.⁷⁷ It may be stretching the theory of pagan prototypes too far, but somewhat similar representations are to be found on the reverse side of coins minted at Halicarnassus during the reigns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Septimius Severus,⁷⁸ thus covering a period from 98 to 211 A.D. On these coins Zeus Askraios is depicted as a bearded figure, radiated, and wearing a long chiton and himation. On either side of him is an oak tree in the branches of which perches a bird, probably a dove. No doubt they symbolized the sacred birds which acted as oracles in the groves of Dodona,⁷⁹ for the worship of the Oak-Zeus was fairly widespread at this time throughout Asia Minor.⁸⁰ Since the craftsmen who worked in Rome were drawn from all parts of the Empire, it is possible that some of them may have been acquainted with such a motif, apparently well known in the Near East, and have rehandled it to their own ends. This theory is considerably strengthened by the fact that on a portion of a sarcophagus now incorporated in the Puerta del Sol at Toledo, a dove has been substituted for the rooster.⁸¹

As we have observed, the rooster in the scene of the annunciation of St. Peter's denial sometimes perches on a square pillar, sometimes on a column. But it is possible to group this particular class of representations in another fashion as follows: (1) The cock and column placed between Christ and Peter. To this group belong the Museo lateranense sar-

74. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

75. Benndorf, *Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Übungen*, Vienna, 1879, ser. A, III, pl. XII. I have been unable to find an adequate photograph of the monument. Heisenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 51) believes that the square form of pillar was due to the fact that the sculptor was working from a drawing of the lost mosaic (?) in Jerusalem representing the annunciation of the denial!

76. Salomon Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, p. 319.

77. Wilpert, *I sarcophagi*, I, pp. 120-121; pls. CVIII, I and CXXIV, 1-3.

78. Head, B. V., *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum; Caria, etc.*, London, 1897, pp. 110, 112; nos. 83, 85, 90.

79. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

80. Cook, A. B., *op. cit.*, p. 415.

81. Wilpert, *I sarcophagi*, I, p. 119.

cophagus no. 174, the Florence ivory, the three fragmentary sarcophagi in the Museo di San Callisto, the Cimitero di Domitilla, and Lyons respectively, the sarcophagus at Arles, the lost sarcophagus figured by LeBlant, the mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo and the fresco in the Cimitero di Santa Ciriaca. The Leyden sarcophagus might also be placed in this group, although it portrays the annunciation of the denial fused with the healing of the Canaanite woman so that simplified versions of the right and left sides of the Museo lateranense sarcophagus no. 174 are made to occupy the same field in the center of the front.⁸² (II) The cock and column placed on the right side of the scene. Next to it stands St. Peter looking at Christ, with his right hand, as usual, to his lips. On the extreme left, Christ addresses St. Peter and points at the rooster. The doors of Santa Sabina fall in this category. By extension the ivory at Brescia may also be added although the scene there shown is the actual denial by St. Peter in the presence of the maid, as has been mentioned above. The artist, however, has in reality merely substituted the maid for Christ in the annunciation of the denial, and thus the representation on the Brescia ivory may be considered transitional between the earlier and more symbolic version of the scene and its later historic-realistic presentation. In the London ivory the artist has gone a step further, and, being pressed for space, has cut away most of the column with the result that the cock is left perched upon a square bracket, a mere vestigial remnant of his original support. As the realistic tendency continues to gain strength, the next step is to place the rooster on the roof of a house as in a miniature of the Codex Egberti (Fig. 14),⁸³ and the column disappears altogether from the scene of the denial. (III) St. Peter alone under an arch with a cock on a column placed either behind him or to one side. The representation on the column of the canopy in S. Marco and (possibly) the London ampulla are of this type. In the case of the canopy column in S. Marco, Peter appears in one division with the cock standing on a cippus behind him, and in the next scene⁸⁴ the saint is shown quite alone and in tears. The inscription, which may have been added in the thirteenth century,⁸⁵ reads: GALLCANIT: FETPETR': (Gallus canit. Flet Petrus.) We have here, then, an early representation of St. Peter weeping immediately after the cockcrow which announced his triple denial of our Lord. "And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him: Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out and wept bitterly."⁸⁶ But it is obvious that the older representation of the annunciation of the denial has been re-used in the first scene although Christ is no longer present. Neither is the maid at hand since the actual denial appears on another column of the canopy. In Greek evangels dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, as for instance the Bibliothèque Nationale *ms. grec 74*,⁸⁷ a more expanded version of St. Peter's triple denial is depicted together with his subsequent remorse. In the latter scene, following the text quite literally, he is shown weeping before

82. J. Wilpert (*Early Christian Sculpture: Its Restoration and Its Modern Manufacture*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, IX, 1926, pp. 93-94) points out that although this sarcophagus has been badly re-cut, the significance of the scenes remains unaltered.

83. Kraus, F. X., *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, pl. XLVI. It dates circa 980. The scene of the denial in the presence of the maid, although common in Byzantine art, occurs only sporadically in Western painting. An exception is offered by the painted crosses of the twelfth and thirteenth century in Tuscany on which it is frequently depicted near the base. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavala, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona, 1929, pp. 258-265, mentions some 17 examples. The rooster, however, is present in only four cases. In two examples, one at S. Maria Assunta, Rosano,

and the other in the Museo Civico (no. 3), Pisa, the rooster perches on the roof of a building much as on the doors of the Benevento cathedral. On the crosses in the Bigallo, Florence, and the Pieve, Arezzo, the cock stands on a mountain or possibly a dunghill. This latter interpretation of the scene would accord with popular tradition as well as one of the proverbs of Publilius Syrus (c. 42 B.C.): "A cock has great influence on his own dunghill."

84. Best seen in Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, Prato, 1880, VI, pl. 497, 3.

85. Gabelentz, H. v. d., *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 18.

86. Matthew, xxvi, 75. See also Mark, xiv, 66-72; Luke, xxii, 55-62; John, xviii, 15-18, 25-27.

87. *Bibliothèque Nationale: département des manuscrits. Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^{me} siècle*, Paris, no date, I, pls. 47, 85; II, pls. 134, 174.

the façade of some building. But to one side stands a rooster perched on a marble column with an elaborate capital and base which is nowhere mentioned in the biblical account of the incident. Apparently the artist in continuing to use the column was employing part of an older scene without inquiring into its original function. It may be noted in passing that the painters' manual of Mount Athos⁸⁸ describes the scenes of St. Peter's denial substantially as portrayed by the artist in *ms. grec.* 74 but following a more naturalistic tendency: "And over him in a window a cock crows. And Peter appears again weeping." This realistic development is paralleled by the Codex Egberti, as has been observed above. (IV) The isolated representation of the cock on a pillar, as found on the Brescia ivory and possibly in the free-standing example in bronze once in the Lateran basilica but now lost.

Some examples of this fourth type seem to have re-occurred at a comparatively late date as on a bench in the parish church of Sefton, Lancashire,⁸⁹ where, however, a loop of rope about the pillar makes it evident that the column to which Our Lord was bound is represented. This change in the significance of the column takes place sometime during the early Middle Ages, and its beginnings can be traced in a relief on the southern façade of Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers, Beaucaire (Fig. 15),⁹⁰ Christ is represented seated in a room with St. Peter and two other apostles. He gestures towards St. Peter at whose feet stands a cock making it evident that the annunciation of the denial is intended. But behind Christ stands a column with a debased Corinthian capital. The column is not used to divide this scene from the next, for all the rest of the frieze is continuous with no attempt at any formal enframements of the individual incidents. Apparently the artist was using some older object, a manuscript or an ivory, as his model, but had misunderstood the use of the column, perhaps even removing the cock from its top and placing him at St. Peter's feet. Further on in the frieze the actual flagellation is shown, and it seems probable, therefore, that the pillar in the scene of the annunciation of the denial was intended to be identified with the one to which Christ was bound. Heisenberg⁹¹ has attempted to prove that the column on which the rooster stands on the sarcophagus no. 174 was the one actually associated with the flagellation and venerated at Jerusalem. This column is recorded as early as the year 334 by the pilgrim of Bordeaux as standing in the midst of some ruins which were supposedly the remains of the house of Caiaphas,⁹² but at no time during the fourth century was its authenticity officially recognized by the church.⁹³ In the fifth century, to be sure, it was incorporated in the porch of the church dedicated to St. Peter on the site of Caiaphas' house and was later (so the story goes) miraculously moved to the church of Holy Zion itself. Hence it is very unlikely on purely chronological grounds that the column of the flagellation would have been shown on a sarcophagus of the fourth century, and, furthermore, no pilgrim makes any mention whatsoever of a cock standing on the column.⁹⁴ But an even more telling argument against Heisenberg's theory, as Stuhlfauth⁹⁵ points out,

88. Schäfer, G., *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berg Athos*, Trier, 1855, p. 201, par. 291. For other late Byzantine examples see Millet, G., *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 345-361. Note especially Laur. VI. 23, fol. 94 (fig. 386), where the cippus on which the rooster stands is transformed into a square tower.

89. Collins, A. H., *Symbolism of Animals and Birds Represented in English Church Architecture*, London, 1913, p. 122.

90. Porter, A. K., *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, I, pp. 271-273; figs. 1293, 1296. He dates it circa 1135. It may be noted that a two-story tower with a pyramidal roof stands to the left of the

scene. A tower is also to be met with on the Brescia ivory. Is there any connection here with the later representations of St. Peter's martyrdom? See Peebles, B. M., *La "Meta Romuli" e una lettera di Michele Ferno*, in *Rendiconti della pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*, XII, 1936, pp. 21-63.

91. *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-65.

92. Heisenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

95. *Op. cit.*, p. 19. Even the actual denial is only shown once on a sarcophagus (Museo cristiano lateranense no. 184), but in this case it is the third denial, no cock is included, and the whole scene is treated in a most restrained

is the marked tendency in Early Christian art to avoid the brutal and the realistic and to shun placing any emphasis upon Christ's physical suffering. It was not until considerably later that all the harrowing details of our Lord's Passion were deemed fit subjects for realistic representation by painters and sculptors. This contention is well borne out by the changed attitude of the Church in respect to the column of the flagellation at Jerusalem which, as we have just observed, was transformed in the course of a century from a mere object of popular interest and superstition to a most important relic. The older and purer mysticism of the primitive church rapidly became overlaid by innumerable gross beliefs which were to be mirrored in the art of the later periods.

Occasionally a rooster perched on a Corinthian column may be encountered in fourteenth and fifteenth century painting, especially that of the Venetian school, as in a Madonna and Child by Carlo Crivelli in the gallery at Verona,⁹⁶ and in a similar subject by an anonymous artist in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.⁹⁷ But the other objects, all of them Instruments of the Passion, which are introduced into the composition leave no doubt that the pillar, like that on the English bench end, is also intended to portray the one to which Christ was bound. In reality, the subjects of the two paintings constitute a fusion of the Mass of St. Gregory with the usual portrayal of the Virgin and Child. Representations of the mass or vision of St. Gregory (540-604) were popular in late Gothic and early Renaissance art, but, as his writings date from the late sixth century, they obviously cannot have influenced the iconography of the Early Christian sarcophagi. They do, however, indicate the earliest period when the change in the significance of the column could have occurred. These later versions of the cock on the column, since they were borrowed in all probability from the earlier examples, again demonstrate a change in the interpretation of iconographical details in a subsequent age and can hardly be considered survivals, except indirectly, of the older tradition. The cock as a weathervane, on the other hand, may descend directly from the ancient isolated examples once sacred to Mercury. Ekkhard,⁹⁸ in his chronicles of the monastery of St. Gall, appears to be the first to mention a rooster on a weathervane, which, appropriately enough, graced one of the towers of the church dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul. When the Huns sacked St. Gall in 925, two of the invaders climbed the tower in order to steal the cock surmounting it. In the monastery, the rooster was called "golden" although in reality it was of base metal, but the Huns, led astray no doubt by its gilding, risked their necks to reach it and one met his death by plunging into the courtyard below. Certainly the cock weathervane was common on other churches at a later date,⁹⁹ and eventually it became secularized so that now it is used on the roofs of innumerable barns.

manner. See Wilpert, *I sarcofagi*, I, pp. 128-129; pl. VIII, 4. His interpretation of this scene has been doubted by some authorities.

96. Marle, R. v., *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1936, XVIII, p. 4. To the right and left of the Madonna stand putti holding the Instruments of the Passion. In the background on the right St. Peter cuts off Malchus' ear.

97. From the Michael Friedsam Collection. It is dated about 1450. The cock on a column also occurs in a Pietà of about 1350 by Roberto Oderisi in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge. Here St. Peter and the maid are also present, thus making it a less abridged version than the other two examples noted.

98. Pertz, G. H., *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Hannover, 1829, II, p. 105: "Duo ex illis ascendunt campanarium, cuius cacuminis gallum aureum putantes, deumque loci, sic vocatum, non esse nisi carioris metalli materia fusum, lancea dum unus, ut eum revellat, se validus pro-

tendit, in atrium de alto cecidit, et periit."

99. According to Prudentius, writing in 405, the cock was also identified with Christ who awakens us to life. See his "Hymnus ad Galli cantum" in Johannes Bergman, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis carmina*, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, Vienna, 1926, vol. LXI, pp. 5-8.

Ales diei nuntius
lucem propinquam praecinit,
nos excitator mentium
iam Christus ad vitam vocat.

But he refers also to the story of St. Peter:

Quae vis sit huius alitis,
salvator ostendit Petro
ter, antequam gallus canat,
sese negandum praedicans.

In any event, whatever the true significance of the cock on a church steeple, the actual representation may have been borrowed from the earlier free-standing examples.

A careful consideration of all the factors involved quickly demonstrates the futility of attempting to group the representations of the annunciation of the denial which we have just considered into schools or to try to prove them the product of one or more shops. No two examples are entirely alike, and the Early Christian craftsmen evidently felt themselves free to vary a given scene considerably within certain limits. A detail such as the cock on a column was the common property of a number of artists who employed it where, when, and in what manner they saw fit. Hence, no very definite conclusions as to the interdependence of these men or of their work can be derived from the scattered examples that have survived into our own days.

One conclusion, however, may be clearly drawn: the cock on a column as it appears in Early Christian iconography is of Gallic origin¹⁰⁰ and is taken over by Byzantine art at a later period from the West. The article by A. C. Soper published in a recent number of *THE ART BULLETIN*¹⁰¹ which figured many of the examples enumerated above, advanced the theory that Gaul exerted a very strong influence upon Christian art in Rome during the third, fourth, and fifth century. As will sometimes happen, my article had been prepared before Soper's appeared in print and I can only offer it now in confirmation of his much more extended and brilliant work. Certainly we all too frequently overlook the fact that Rome in the third and fourth century, just like New York today, swarmed with artisans from every corner of the known world and that these men all tended to add some slight quota of their individual style, of their beliefs and memories, of their own personalities in short, to the otherwise surprisingly uniform art of the great city. Through many generations styles changed, new meanings were given to old symbols, cults arose and were forgotten, but artists continued to borrow ancient representations when it suited their purposes, little caring for their original significance. It is a long way from the birds on columns of the Minoan age to the cock weathervane on a New England barn, both when measured in years or in miles, but in the artistic spirit the gap is not so great and we are brought face to face with the old truism: "There is nothing new under the sun."

100. As far as I am aware the only author to hint at a pagan origin for the cock on a column is Ludwig von Sybel, *Christliche Antike: Einführung in die altchristliche Kunst*, Marburg, 1909, II, p. 142, note 1.

101. XX, June, 1938, pp. 145-192. See especially p. 186.

THE PSKOV SCHOOL OF PAINTING

By LYDIA NADEJENA

THE year 1918 marks a significant epoch in the history of Russian art. First the separation of church and state, and then the nationalization of all treasures including the religious, made it possible for the government to turn the old churches into museums, permitting great discoveries in the field of art.

The new regime recognizing the masterpieces of devotional art not as symbols of faith, but as a cultural heritage, concerned itself with their preservation. This revolutionized the approach to old works. Unlike the work of restoration which had been commissioned by the ecclesiastic authorities to beautify the churches by overpainting the murals, or in the poorer churches by simple whitewashing, the modern methods were concerned with scientific cleansing, and uncovering of the originals.

The Government Restoration Workshops, created in 1918 with a staff of the greatest Russian restorers, art historians, and architects, became a gathering place for religious paintings, sent from all parts of Russia.

Summers were devoted to special expeditions to the oldest and most important centers of medieval culture, for research and for restoration of murals. As a result we have now a continuous line of rediscoveries embracing seven centuries of Russian artistic development.

Some thirty-five icons from Pskov reached the Restoration Shops (Figs. 1-4). They were so strikingly original in composition and color that Professor Anisimov, then the head of the painting department, thought the moment ripe for making a thorough study of the monumental paintings of Pskov. The first expedition took place in 1926. It started simultaneous restoration of the frescoes of two churches: the Church of the Transfiguration of the Mirozhsky Monastery, dating from the middle twelfth century (Fig. 7), and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin of the Snyetogorsky Monastery, from the early fourteenth century.

Pskov as a separate art center was unrecognized before. Prewar restorations in Russia, which had their beginnings in 1906, were carried on sporadically and depended entirely upon individual initiative. With the exception of the Novgorod frescoes, all the restorations were of icons. The former were uncovered by N. P. Ukin, under the supervision of Anisimov. The works restored dated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

Between 1908 and 1914 a few earlier works were discovered, but in view of the lack of exact data and methods of comparison, some schools remained vague, some were doubted, and some entirely ignored. Muratov, for example, begins his epoch-making history of Russian painting (1914) with the sixteenth century, and considers the mature art of Novgorod as the genesis of the Russian national school. He does not even mention the peculiarities of the Pskov paintings, attributing them to the Novgorod school because of the fact that Pskov and Novgorod were closely linked through their economic and political history.

Grischenko, an artist of the French school, more sensitive to stylistic and technical peculiarities than the academic scientists and artists, was the only one at that time to insist on the originality of the Pskov paintings, though he had only examined the icons of

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But so little was known about the ancient art, and so little was trusted of the national artistic culture of Russia—or the Byzantine, for that matter—that he, recognizing their originality, attributed them to some unknown Italian adaptation.

Kondakov, following Grischenko, considered only the sixteenth century material; he also recognized its peculiarities, but called it a caprice of taste, a degradation in the craft of copying from the Byzantine.

Preceding him, and as early as 1898, Pokrovsky mentions having seen the frescoes in the Mirozhsky Monastery at Pskov before they were covered by Safonov, a Palekh painter (from the famous icon-painting village) and popular restorer of the time. Pokrovsky accepted them as Byzantine, though he recognized them as a rare monument in the field of Christian art. Yet his interest was chiefly in iconography.

The development of the Pskov school of art came about in the following manner:

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries found Russia under the Tartar yoke. She was also affected by the Second Crusade, which shifted the trade routes of Byzantium to the Latin ports, thus cutting her off from the spiritual sources which were in Byzantium. But Novgorod and Pskov, its subsidiary, due to their geographical situation in the far north, were not invaded by the Tartars, and found an outlet for their trade in the Gothic west. As a result they experienced at that time their greatest development—commercial, cultural, and social. Novgorod was a powerful member of the Hanseatic League. Pskov was the outpost of trade. This gave it power as early as 1266 to win its independence from Novgorod.

The contact with Western culture expressed itself in the field of art in a greater freedom of handling the Byzantine sources, and an introduction of the Gothic element in the form of elongated figures. But these trade centers were only small forces in the vast agricultural hinterland, from which they derived their support, and therefore retained their religious tradition long after western Europe became secularized and developed into the Renaissance.

Yet even here new art forms were appearing. Chiefly in the centers of Novgorod and Pskov, naturalism and realism were finding expression. Novgorod was the first to break away from the purely Byzantine tradition of devotional painting, by introducing the national type of face in place of the historical. This led later on to true portraiture.

In Pskov the first genre painting appeared in a recently discovered manuscript of the eleventh century. A miniature in this book, which is neither a votive icon nor an illustration of the text, allowed the artist free play, so that the result was a genre painting, the first and only one known in Russian medieval art. Beside a reclining figure against a simple background rests a shovel. An inscription reads: "Toiler, work!"

The twelfth century icon of Elias from Vibuty (near Pskov) shows evidence of the same realistic trend. In this icon the stylized image is in the Byzantine tradition, although with marked deviation. The prophet Elias is represented as a simple old man, sitting on a rock in a free pose. The folds of the cloak and the modeling of the figure approach the naturalistic and thus depart from the abstract flat form of conventional Russian devotional art. The landscape and vegetation also suggest a naturalistic tendency, thus combining for the first time in Russian painting the realistic external world and the canonized forms of symbolic art. For the background is treated traditionally both in color and line.

The Pskov painting of the Petchersky Virgin (early fourteenth century) from the Svensky Monastery shows, too, a humanized tenderness of expression, which was later to become typically Russian. The figures surrounding her also have individualized faces, and one is clothed in the typical monk's robe of the time.

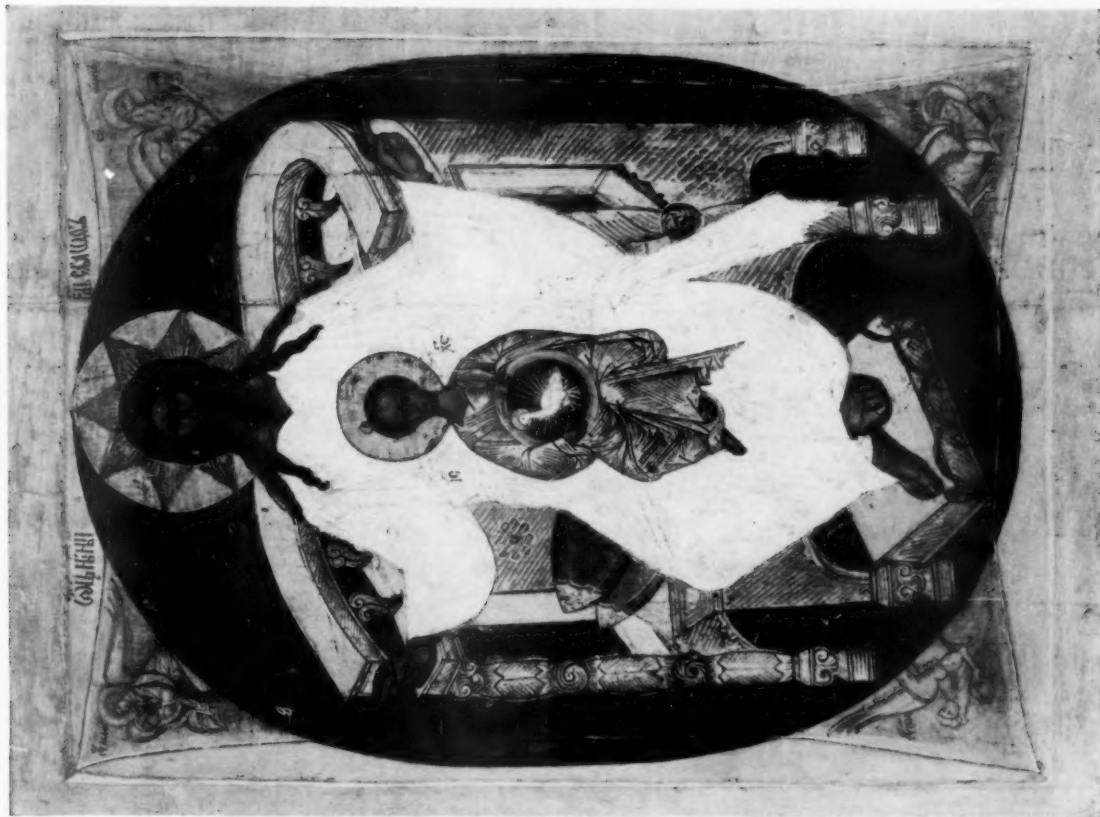


FIG. 1—Moscow, Museum of Feudal Art: *The Trinity*,
XVI Century

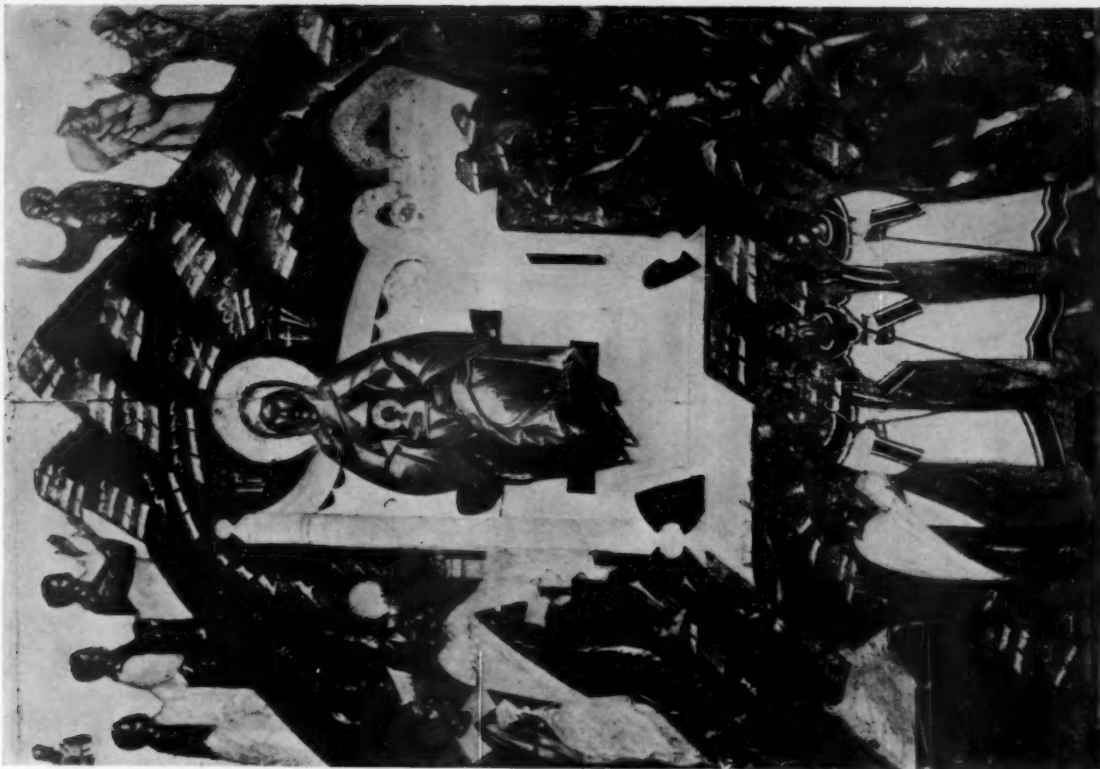


FIG. 2—Moscow, Museum of Feudal Art: *The Council of the Virgin*, XVI Century

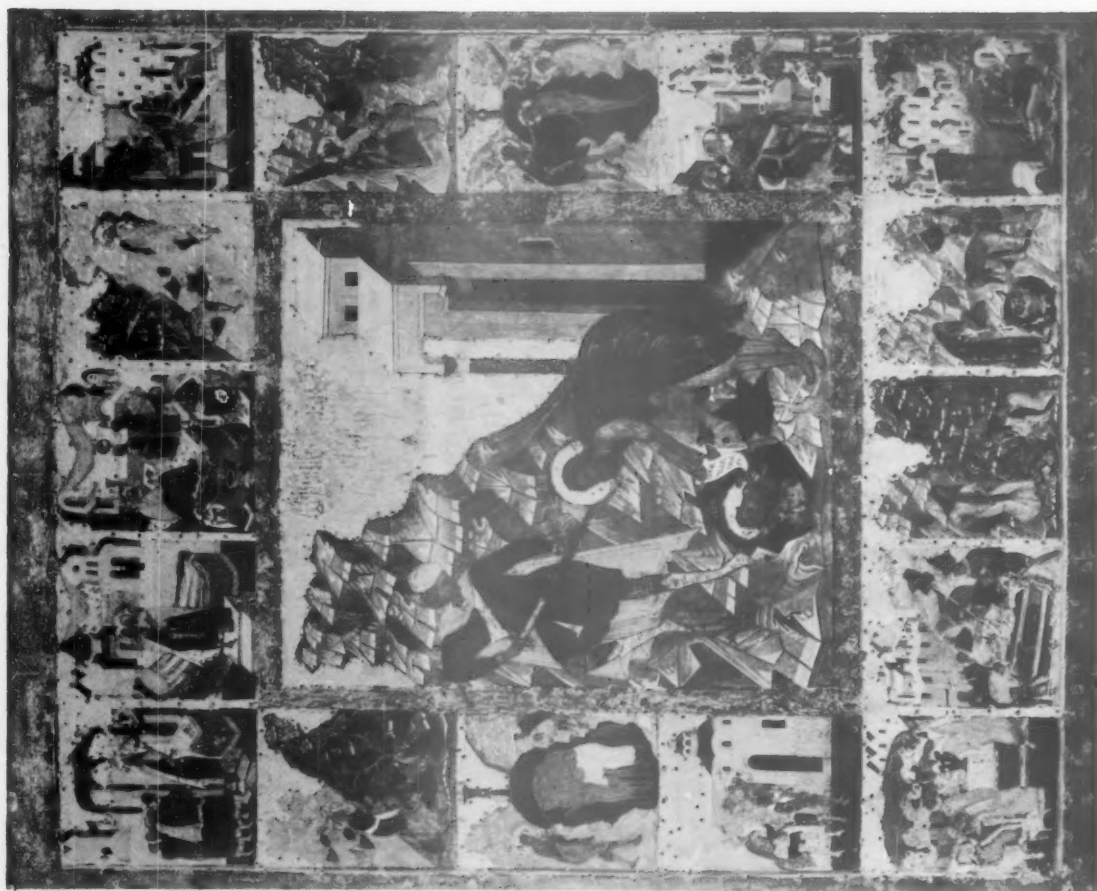


FIG. 3—Moscow, Museum of Feudal Art: History of John the Baptist, XVI Century

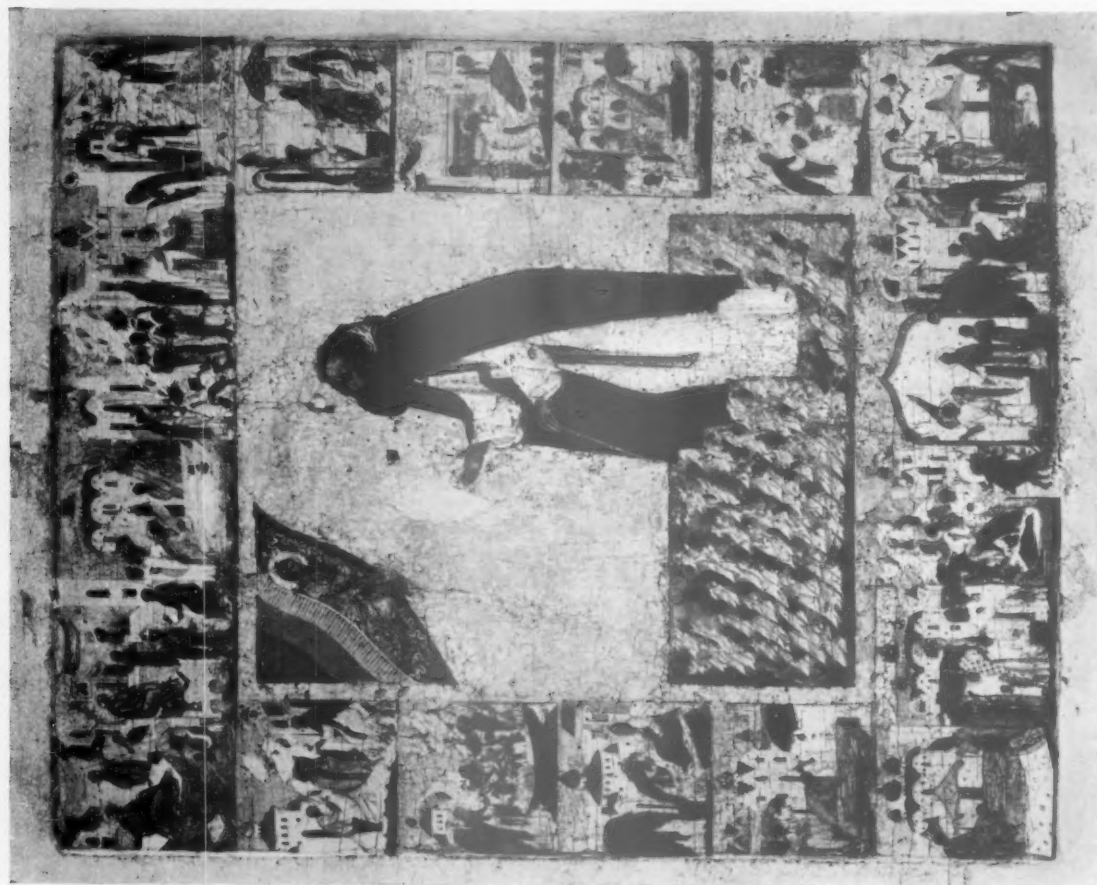


FIG. 4—Moscow, Museum of Feudal Art: History of St. Varlaam of Khutin, XVI Century

Realistic tendencies appear most strikingly in the USTAV (a book of regulations) now on view in the Museum of Feudal Art at Moscow.

This example of realistic traits found its similar beginnings in the frescoes of Pskov from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. These frescoes were in the above-mentioned churches in the monasteries of Mirozhsky and Snyetogorsky. The churches, having been erected during the period of ascetic monasticism, enjoyed, as was usual in Russia, a great flowering of art. The tragic roads of Russian history heightened the spirituality, the dissatisfaction with the existing order of earthly things. The religious paintings of the monasteries created a balance between the drabness of reality and the hope of a future bliss.

Ancient Russian annals reveal the great activity in the building of churches, and the enthusiasm of their detailed records indicates the important part they played in the life of the people. The Pskov annals show that this province was the most active in the erection of churches. The two outstanding monasteries—the Mirozhsky, of the twelfth century, and the Snyetogorsky of the fourteenth—belong to the epochs characterized by a strong wave of asceticism, by the growth of nationalism, and by an architectural construction, richly and artistically decorated. They, as well as the other churches of Pskov, are architectural masterpieces, simple and harmonious, with restraint in their decoration and a tasteful use of ornament. Of Caucasian influence and Byzantine type, they were adapted to the climatic conditions and to the requirements of a city organization.

The first records of the Mirozhsky church (Fig. 7) are dated 1156. They indicate that it is the first stone building in Pskov. The four columns of the original structure are still preserved. No altar was used, which indicates its great age. In 1903, however, an altar of marble was donated by a patron. The original cupola was replaced in the late fourteenth century. The unifying idea of the ancient master is evidenced by the structure of the windows in the cupola, which widen inwardly in order to conserve the heat while allowing the light to penetrate in a manner producing an interesting effect of an aura illuminating the paintings.

The walls were decorated up to the cupola, but owing to the fact that the church stands at the confluence of two rivers Velikaya and Mirozhka, which when the snow melts rise high above the ground level, they were injured by the annual floods. As a result, the frescoes painted on the lower parts were lost beyond redemption. All of them had been whitewashed, probably at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, but in 1858 when the cathedral was being renovated, some of the plaster broke, revealing the paintings. But it was not until 1890 that a "scientific investigation," supervised by the Imperial Academy of Arts, removed the whitewash and began a restoration of the frescoes. It was undertaken by the Holy Synod, which was anxious to rejuvenate the old art. Safonov, later called the chief undertaker of old art, so many old paintings did he bury under his own efforts, was the restorer referred to on a previous page. Yet he was extremely popular in his own time for his use of gaudy colors, and was authorized by the well-known academicians, V. Suslov and M. Botkine.

The frescoes under the vaults and at the pinnacle of the vaults suffered most from a combination of age and vandalistic restoration, though a considerable part of the composition remained intact or was retouched as early as the sixteenth century.

The retouching by sixteenth century restorers, found in the recent uncovering of the original work, shows that the old restorers took all they could from what was preserved of the twelfth century and created their own compositions. The painting of the sixteenth century, executed by a technique that applied successive layers of paint proceeding from

light to dark, gave the effect of the subtle play of color in conformity with the artistic taste of that time.

The sixteenth century also shows that the principles of monumental art, which were concerned with the accentuation of essentials rather than of details, were lost. The sixteenth century painters appear, as these retouchings show, to have been primarily easel painters. So all the ingeniousness of their brushwork was lost when viewed from a distance. The effect for which they worked is not produced. But now when the original frescoes of the twelfth century are completely uncovered we can judge fully the underlying ideas of the masterpieces. The restorations of Safonov, fortunately, consisted of only a thin layer of paint, so that it was comparatively easy for the modern restorers in 1926 to remove his crude and uninspired work and reveal the great beauty of the originals.

The high level of development of the pictorial and graphic elements of these frescoes is truly remarkable when one realizes that Russia was initiated into Christianity only in the tenth century, whereas Byzantium at this time was almost ready to experience its first renaissance, the culmination of long centuries of artistic development.

Fortunately for Russian art, the Christianization of Russia coincided with a great artistic era in Byzantium. The Russian apprentices of the great Greek masters who came over from Byzantium into Russia after its conversion to Christianity followed their Byzantine teachers faithfully, accepting with confidence and good faith the strange exterior of the images because they came from the great Byzantine civilization and church. It was for the pagan Slav a new emotional and ethical experience. He responded to the art with the fervor of a novice. As a result, he cultivated the principles of the then universal art and filled it with an emotional quality of an intimate human experience.

This resulted in a fine representation of the current style of the Comnenian Byzantine renaissance, which was found in the churches of Kiev of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, St. Sophia and Kirilov; in the Suzdal church of St. Demetrius, also of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; in Novgorod, in the church of Nereditza; and the church of St. George at Staraya Ladoga. The art of the last two churches comes nearest to the paintings in the Pskov churches of the twelfth century. But though the Pskov paintings have points of similarity with the above-mentioned murals, they remain a rare monument of old Christian art.

The grandeur of style, the grace and lightness of line, the festive richness of color all combine to make the Mirozhsky frescoes stand out among the usually somber paintings of that period. One feels a moving quality, an orchestrated rhythm in the painting of figures and scenes in these frescoes.

The unequaled sense of form which is delineated by the draperies brings the frescoes of the Mirozhsky Monastery nearer to the paintings of the Kahrieh Djami, of almost two centuries later, than to any contemporary painting. The frescoes are distinguished also by a preference for scenes rather than isolated figures. Archeologically, their importance equals the monumental paintings of Nereditza, while stylistically, they are close to the very Hellenistic paintings of the church of St. George at Staraya Ladoga.

But if traditionally Helleno-Byzantine, the Mirozhsky frescoes already indicate the subtle and peculiar combination of Greek idealization with an emotional saturation—a combination strongly pronounced in the best of Russia's art throughout its development. The types of faces are Greek; so are the inscriptions and the costumes traditionally Byzantine. But a new breath is felt. One becomes aware of a tenderly humanized expression. Unforgettable is the enhanced richness of the clear, sonorous colors and the refined sense



FIG. 5—Mirozhsky Monastery, Church: *The Holy Women, Detail of Entombment, XII Century*



FIG. 6—Mirozhsky Monastery, Church: *Christ and Mary, Detail of Entombment, XII Century*

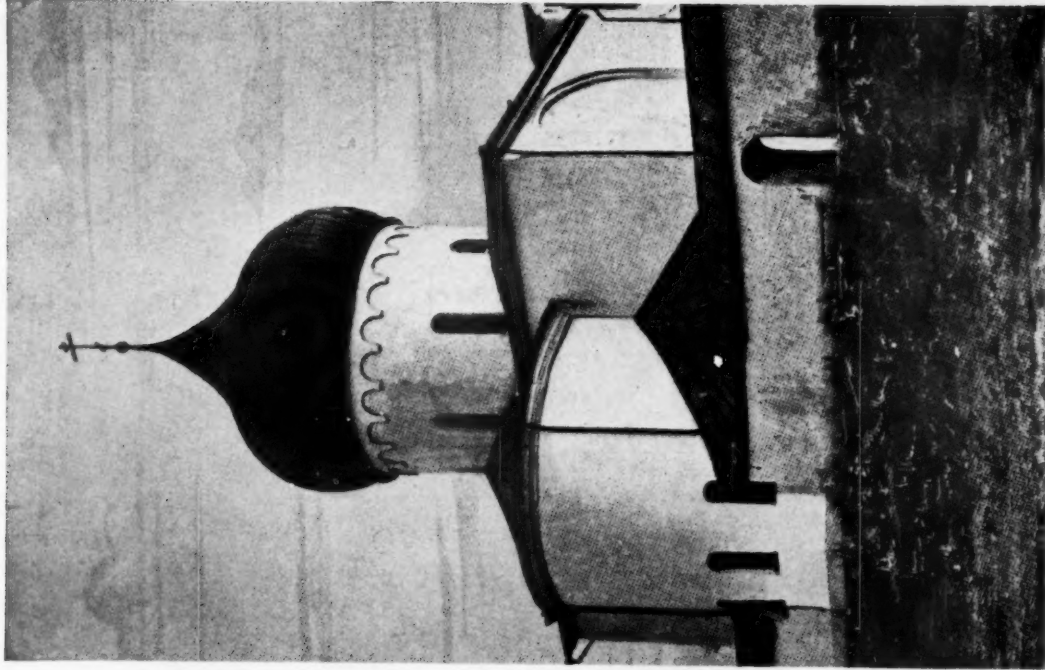


FIG. 7—Mirozhsky Monastery: *Church of the Transfiguration*



FIG. 8—Snyetogorsky Monastery, Church of the Nativity of the Virgin: Descent of the Holy Ghost, XVI Century



FIG. 9—Details of Fresco Shown Above

of decoration. The sense of measure, the inner significance of the relationship of the personages of divine history united by the Christian idea, which the paintings convey to the worshipper, create an atmosphere of intimacy between God and man. Yet this intimacy is of such a high spiritual level that the pathos of distance is never lost.

The paintings beneath the vaults of the northern and southern walls are arranged according to the measured and rhythmic disposition of the different figures and groups. In the Entombment the body of the shrouded Christ is placed at the base of the composition, parallel with the horizontal base of the wall. Right above Him, following a perpendicular line from the apex of the circumference towards the middle of the base, is placed the Cross of Golgotha. On the right side Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus prostrate themselves at the feet of Christ. On the left the holy women follow by their posture the curve of the circumference (Fig. 5). Their attitudes coincide rhythmically with the inclination of the figure of the Virgin, whose face is turned toward the face of her Son (Fig. 6) and of John the Apostle, who kisses the hand of his Master.

In the Epiphany the figure of Christ is in the center of the composition. Towards it are inclined on the right and on the left John the Precursor and a group of angels. The faces, retaining the fundamental traits of Christian iconography, reveal the first symptoms of tenderness, which was one of the important steps to Russification. Very characteristic in the sense of Russification is the face of Pilate—a typical portrait of a Russian aristocrat of the grand-ducal period.

The palette is sumptuous. The paintings form an uninterrupted frieze within which figures and groups are disposed, one above the other, against a glittering blue background, with the symbolic landscapes and architecture.

The compositions, imperceptibly fused into each other, extend themselves in a band winding along the transept of the south, west, and north walls. The green and clear yellow mountains, some of which are bare, some adorned by vegetation and groves of varied coloration, have a naturalistic aspect insofar as their coloring resembles the pale, yellow-green tones of the Pskov landscape.

The most vivid colors are applied in the costumes, the styles of which are even more varied than the range of colors used. The Archangel Gabriel (in the pose of Annunciation) is represented in a white chiton and a green himation. The pleats of the chiton are rendered by the Mirozhsky master in pale-blue and intense-blue lines, while the pleats of the himation are in green of two tonalities, from the lightest yellow mixed with white to pure yellow in the place where the himation intercepts the shape of the figures. The draperies are indicated by fine lines with little consideration for relief. The bodies, however, are modeled, the most prominent parts of the nude form being heightened by a light color. Faces, hands, feet, are executed with masterful minuteness.

The fundamental tone is olive-green, obtained by stratified yellow and brown ochres which, with the addition of white, become more clear at each successive layer. The most elevated points of the relief are heightened by pure whites in the form of single patch or paralleled hatchings. The modeling of the contours of the nose and eyes are emphasized by a red-brown line. Emphasizing the features by this complicated technique, the artist succeeded in bringing out the immediate state of a religious sentiment by an exterior expression. For instance, in the Entombment, one is amazed at the nuances of affliction that the painter portrayed in the faces of the dead Christ and His Mother (Fig. 6), and in those of their disciples, and friends.

In the group of Holy Women (Fig. 5), each one of the three sitting nearest the fore-

ground gives her note of sadness which, by the rhythmic sequence of lines and inclinations, produces a veritable concert of anguish. The faces are self-contained. The one on the extreme left is singularly expressive of mute desolation and silent submission to destiny. It is not the face of one embittered, but of one who finds peace in the super-reality of eternal values.

This image of feminine sorrow, with its power of profound truth, has its counterpart in the masculine affliction in the face of Nicodemus, at the feet of Christ. His eyes are directed into space. He gazes intently beyond the focus of immediate vision; this intensity is accentuated by the bushy eyebrows. The whole face bears an expression of firm decision and tacit protestation. The lips of the woman and the man are tightly closed at the sight of pain; the one bows gently in resignation and prayer; the other is tense and unflinching. Both seek salvation within. And the intensity of this inner life of the human being, achieved with such economy of means, puts this work among the best realizations of humanity in the domain of art. It has a sense of super-reality, which alone could well explain why the old art was unpopular and incomprehensible in the nineteenth century, for which the external, naturalistic values were most important.

Though in the formal Byzantine tradition, these paintings suggest the national Russian element in their nuances of color and rhythm, in the intimate content of representations created to fill the abyss that separates the two worlds.

The purely Byzantine image tied by class tradition never broke through the formality of cold detachment and imperturbability. But this was more true of monumental art than of the icons, which were meant to be sent to different lands and races to move the converts. One of the latter, which is of rare beauty and importance, was discovered in Russia. It is the Virgin of Vladimir of the twelfth century. Here we find a masterful combination of idealized divinity and human sorrow.

The church of the Nativity of the Virgin of the Snyetogorsky Monastery, three versts from Pskov proper, is mentioned in the annals as having been built in 1312 (while the monastery was erected in 1299), and was probably frescoed shortly after its erection. It was a replica in architectural plan of the church of the Mirozhsky Monastery. Its walls, too, are completely covered by paintings, even that to the east of the transept. In the sixteenth century the iconostasis was placed there; in the seventeenth the wings to the north, west and south; and in the eighteenth the windows were enlarged. The frescoes were also probably whitewashed at that time. Their existence was subsequently unknown until, in the last years of the World War, they were discovered by chance. But only insignificant bits came under observation. Matsoulevitch wrote concerning them in *Fragments of Mural Paintings of the Snyetogorsky Monastery* in the *Annales détachées d'archéologie russe et slave* (*Société d'archéologie impériale russe*, V, X, p. 25). It was the Restoration Workshops that completed the uncovering of the frescoes during the four summer expeditions of 1926-1930.

The paintings of the Snyetogorsky Monastery are primarily striking for their originality of iconography. This applies both to the entire composition of scenes and to isolated figures. With the utmost economy of line and color the artist of the frescoes brilliantly solved problems of composition and movement. To cite only a few: the Last Judgment, the Apocalypse, the Mesopentecost Christ, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Dormition of the Virgin.

The Mesopentecost Christ is an early representation of the Savior type, which replaced the established Pantocrator type in the affections of the Russian people. The two other

murals represent groups of half-sized figures, in one of which Christ (the Deësis type) is accompanied by His Mother and John the Forerunner preceded by three angels.

The two murals, *The Descent of the Holy Ghost* (Figs. 8 and 9) and the *Dormition of the Virgin*, are distinguished not only by the originality of the iconography, but by a striking arrangement in composition.

In the former the habitual symbolic figure of the world is replaced by a circle of five figures. In the latter the apostles entering into Jerusalem, who are usually depicted in half size, are here full-size figures, and themselves carry the cloud, which is usually held by the three accompanying angels. The characters in all the frescoes are distinguished by extraordinarily large eyes, achieved by a special form of ocular cavity, and the bodies are elongated as the result of the Gothic influence. The faces are strongly individualized and singularly expressive. The broad gestures and the dynamic quality of the figures in their various poses with slightly turned heads give to them all a highly dramatic aspect.

The Savior conception of the Christ came as a direct result of the burdensome years of the invasion, when in the struggle for independence each man felt as if he himself carried the symbol of the cross upon his back, with its implied suffering. He therefore turned for protection to the similarly suffering Christ and to the Virgin.

A cycle of Christ paintings followed in the new iconography. They included the *Virgin of Intercession*, the *Ascension*, and icons of newly canonized saints. These were the Russian martyrs, Nicola and Varlaam of Vkhutin, and St. Paraskeva, protectress of trade, popular in the northern provinces.

A similar restlessness and fervor distinguish all of the paintings, leading to an assumption that they might all have been created by the same artist. It seems, too, as though the same bold and daring temperament must have brought forth the complex whole, creating a pictorial form which replaced the graphic detailization of the earlier monuments. Unlike the Mirozhsky frescoes, in which the facile lines of the draperies were simple and easily followed, the garments in the Snyetogorsky paintings are intercrossed in complicated folds.

The mastery of technique of the painter of the Snyetogorsky frescoes was so great that he could freely turn his attention to the elaboration of movement, the interrelationship of the persons portrayed, in contrast to the earlier static and isolated figures, which were tied together only by a motivating idea of faith. The heavy lines that form the contours of the figures, as well as the features, give an added expressiveness and weight to the paintings. The artist portrays divine history as convincing truth.

But there was more than divine history in the paintings. Like all great art they revealed the character and the problems of their own era. Pskov throughout most of its history struggling for independence, was at this period experiencing an especially turbulent time. The Pskovian republican was fighting for freedom of choice in his political, social, and religious life, and battled successfully to maintain it until 1650, long after all of the other provinces, including Great Novgorod, had been crushed by the power of Moscow.

This daring and independence animate the frescoes. They are a living incarnation of life and faith, and not remote and unobservant, as all medieval art was accused of being by the academicians and art historians of the nineteenth century. Their dynamic force and turbulence is as characteristic of their age as the calm and lyricism of Rublev were of his in the fifteenth century.

The colors themselves used in the frescoes are of historic significance. Within a very narrow color range the Snyetogorsky artist achieved an extraordinary and striking effect.

The broad brushwork and complex coloristic gamut, made hardly discernible the method by which the general effect of the seemingly monotonous painting was obtained. The fundamental tone was reddish-brown and reddish-rose, close to sepia. The high lights and blue shadows were formed by an impasto of gray and green. They created an impression of intricate technique. It was thought at first that the palette consisted of imported pigments but a chemical analysis made by the Restoration Workshops revealed that the colors were obtained from the deposits of the river Velikaya. The Snyetogorsky masters were ingenious craftsmen as well as great artists.

The data discovered by the expeditions of the Restoration Workshops now reveal a mighty outpouring of original art. The two monastery churches of Pskov produced a style not only important for itself and its time, but exerted an influence far into the following ages in mural and in icon painting.

The thirty-five icons recovered and restored by the Workshops (Figs. 1-4), as well as those previously observed and recorded, proved along with the frescoes the existence of a unique school of art at Pskov. Many of the recently discovered panel paintings show both the character and style of the Pskov frescoes. A part of the murals of the Snyetogorsky Monastery has the same sequences that occur in a group of famous icons. Both show the same fundamental pathos and the same formal quality.

This group of icons includes: the Election of the Saints of the Tretyakov Gallery, the Council of the Virgin (Fig. 2), the Three Martyr Saints, the Madonna Hodegetria, the reverse of which is occupied by the Transfiguration, and the Madonna of Tenderness of the village Lobiatov. They are exhibited at the Museum of Feudal Art at Moscow. Some of the icons were also shown in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1929, and in various museums of the United States in 1931, when there was a general exhibition of Russian icons.

This glimpse, the first Europe had of Russian medieval art, created a sensation among the critics and historians, who hailed it as of the greatest significance. Among the icons that attracted special notice for their austerity, rhythm, and unusual color and composition were: the Council of the Virgin (Fig. 2), the Three Martyr Saints, and St. Varlaam of Khutin (Fig. 4).

The murals of the two important centers in Pskov, when compared artistically and chronologically, open out to the student an evolving art form, which, having its beginnings in the twelfth century, exerted its influence far into later ages, carrying on the Byzantine tradition long after Byzantium itself had ceased to exist.

The Mirozhsky paintings of the twelfth century already show a complete assimilation of the tradition of the Byzantine renaissance of the eleventh century. But they were already feeling their way toward self-expression in terms of their own conception of life and divinity.

The Snyetogorsky Monastery, following the lead of its predecessor, went even farther toward a national expression. But in its murals a marked deviation took place. The quiet, restricted, and ceremonial form gave way to a vibrant and restless art which, freer in the handling of its technique, became both dynamic and dramatic.

This broad pictorial treatment culminated and found its greatest perfection in the work of the great Greek master Theophanes. His work in the churches of St. Stratilates and of the Transformation in Novgorod, show the same pathos of movement, the same pictorial treatment, and a similar use of nuances achieved with two or three colors of a warm tone. There is also the familiar background of dark gray or violet, though in the work of Theophanes it is possible that it is due to accident, perhaps of fire or of time.

It may be that the likeness of the works of Theophanes to those of the artist of the Snyetogorsky Monastery is due to their both being pupils of the same Byzantine school; but it is also plausible to believe that the Greek, who adapted himself so amazingly to the Russian soil and culture, felt the influence of the Pskov paintings when he visited the monastery of Snyetogorsky on his way to Novgorod in October, 1472.

This visit is recorded in the annals (*History of the Principality of Pskov*, by the Metropolitan Eugene, part III, p. 91) that describe a visit at the monastery by Sophia Paleologue, while en route to Moscow to marry Tsar Ivan III. Theophanes is recorded as having been a member of her cortège.

Theophanes was destined to wield a mighty influence over Russian art for a full century. He represented the best of the second and last Byzantine renaissance, of the Paleologue dynasty. Coming to Russia at a time when she felt herself as a mighty power for the upholding of the great Byzantine tradition, Theophanes was instrumental in bringing the art of the Greek Orthodox Church to a great flowering, which one hundred years later developed into a national school of painting. He marks the high point in that art which found its earlier expression in the work of the unknown painter of the Snyetogorsky Cathedral. The same Pskov school that produced the frescoes brought forth artists that held their own centuries later. So skillful and original was their work that it was largely responsible for the calling of the Church Council of 1550-1551 by Ivan the Terrible.

Moscow, having absorbed most of the impoverished provinces, was now the rich cultural center of the national life. Anxious to enforce its rule upon all of Russia, it fought all freedom of thought. But the breeze of Reformation which was sweeping Europe made itself felt in the northern republics of Novgorod and Pskov. Fear of liberal thought, called "heresies" in Russia, prompted the Council to put a halt to the innovations in the treatment of the symbolic art. In the discussions of the Council special emphasis was placed on the bold deviations of the Pskov painters. The Council issued the STOGLAV (a book of regulations of one hundred chapters) which prescribed that all painters adhere strictly to the ancient formula of icon painting. Despite these limitations, the Pskov artists were entrusted with important commissions, so highly valued was their craft.

In spite of these restrictions, Russian art remained a living force, which achieved its own renaissance in the sixteenth century with Dionysius as its greatest master.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

THE ENAMELED RELIQUARY OF BAÑARES

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The present troubled condition of Spain has made all the world anxious about the art treasures and antiquities for which the country is justly famous. Because of the uncertainty regarding many of these precious things it may be well to record what I know of a little reproduced enameled reliquary of Bañares. What follows was written several years ago, before the reliquary was well known but since that time it has been mentioned by Juaristi¹ and Hildburgh.² Because I am among the few scholars to have seen it, the following words may have some value for those interested in Spanish enamels.

The little church of Bañares near Logroño possesses this large enameled casket, to my knowledge one of the largest in Spain. Although crude in execution, the enamel has an appealing decorative charm often found in Spanish provincial art. The history of this object is not known except that it was seen and described in 1610 as detailed to us by Manuel Risco.³ The relics contained in the casket are those of an early local martyr, S. Formerio. There is much dispute as to whether there was more than one S. Formerio and whether the saint of the same name in France is the one whose relics are here at Bañares. In Spain the day observed for S. Formerio is September 25, one of the few days when the casket is exposed to public view, and in France the day is October 1st. Manuel Risco refers to a bull of Innocent IV, dated May 29, 1487, giving indulgences to those who visited the relics. He wrote that older books mention documents at Bañares, but these did not exist in his time. Apparently no exact data about the origin of the casket exist today.

The casket has a familiar oblong shape and a sloping roof. It is made of a number of enameled panels fitted together over a wooden frame. Since several panels do not seem to be in their proper places according to the designs on them, it has probably undergone restoration. On one end is a more modern fragment, perhaps of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, which confirms this belief. For the most part, the various panels are covered with mere decorative designs with the exception of several on the front face. To the right on the front is a King carrying a *fleur de lys* scepter, while beneath him is the scene of the crucifixion crudely represented and recalling the iconography of the Beatus manuscripts, although here much debased (Fig. 1). At the left, above, is a bishop carrying the crozier and, below, a monk with the head of a bird protruding from a book. Between these panels are others with decorative designs composed of the three towers of Castile, two scepters crossed and floral designs. On the roof these same patterns are repeated, together with the coat of arms of the Dukes of Béjar and an occasional lion rampant. On the ends the same designs are repeated and new ones appear which are merely geometric (Figs. 2 and 3). The rear has the same floral, three tower and lion rampant decorations, together with the cross of Toulouse, daisies in circles and fantastic animals with wings (Fig. 4).

The technique of the enamel is *champlevé* on copper, and the colors are limited to white, black, light blue, and red, all opaque. These colors point at once to a comparatively late date in the Middle Ages in spite of the primitive form of the crucifixion scene, for crude enamel in these colors and

of this type is found on many parochial crosses in Old Castile as may be seen at Valdeolmillos, Mave (Palencia), Salas de los Infantes (Burgos), Espinosa de Cerbera (Burgos), etc., as well as in the museums of Madrid and Burgos. From the nature of the metalwork these crosses are dated for the most part in the fourteenth century, and their abundance in the churches of Old Castile indicate that they were a local industry. Enamelers are mentioned as having worked at Burgos in the fourteenth century, which lends color to this belief. The crude drawing of the figures on the Bañares casket may be compared with that on a cross in the Museo Arqueológico at Madrid, whose limited color and coarse enamel both point to a date well advanced in the fourteenth century for the Bañares reliquary.

The arms of the dukes of Béjar suggest that this family was concerned with ordering the reliquary. Bañares once belonged to this family and even the present duke—so the local priest told me—interested himself in the church and the relics. The arms of Castile brings to mind that Henry of Trastamare was once at Bañares. Near here on April 13, 1367 there was held a council between Henry and Bertrand du Guesclin to discuss the failure of the battle of Najera.⁴ Since the reliquary on other grounds seems to be of the fourteenth century, it is possible that Henry of Trastamare contributed toward the cost of it when he was here in 1367 A.D., a date which would fit well with the other facts known of the reliquary.

AMENDE HONORABILE

THE EDITORS, THE ART BULLETIN,
Gentlemen:

Apropos my recent review of his *Giorgio da Castelfranco* [THE ART BULLETIN, XIX, pp. 596 ff.] my esteemed colleague, Dr. G. M. A. Richter, gives me a vigorous drubbing [*ibid.*, XX, p. 443 f.] which in part I deserve.

For misrepresenting his view on the Bache Madonna of the Tree and for raising unjustifiable doubts concerning the quality of his sensorium, apologies are due, and I gladly make them.

An explanation of such a "boner" has merely a psychological interest. I can only guess that, in a long and laborious reading of his densely rich book, I naturally, if unpardonably, dozed, with calmitous results.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

LES DÉBUTS DE LA SCULPTURE ROMANE ESPAGNOLE. By G. Gaillard. Paris, Hartmann, 1938.

With the first publication of his admirable material in book form, Gaillard has announced in unmistakable fashion to any persons as yet unaware of his work, the new era in the study of Spanish Romanesque sculpture. Gone is the day when French scholars, ignorant of the full extent of the Spanish art, could consider it a mere offshoot of their own, or when Spanish enthusiasts could press to the other extreme in claiming significant priority for their own sculpture. In his study of the important schools of Leon, Jaca, and Compostella, Gaillard has helped greatly to clarify the position of Spanish sculpture with respect to that of France, not by denying the relationship but by establishing the independent nature of the Spanish achievement on a firm basis according to methods of modern scholarship.

4. Madrozo, P. de, *Navarra y Logroño*, Barcelona, 1886 III, p. 706.

1. *Esmaltes*, Barcelona, 1933, p. 179.

2. *Medieval Spanish Enamels*, Oxford, 1936, p. 114.

3. *España Sagrada*, XXXIII, p. 330.



FIG. 1—*Front*

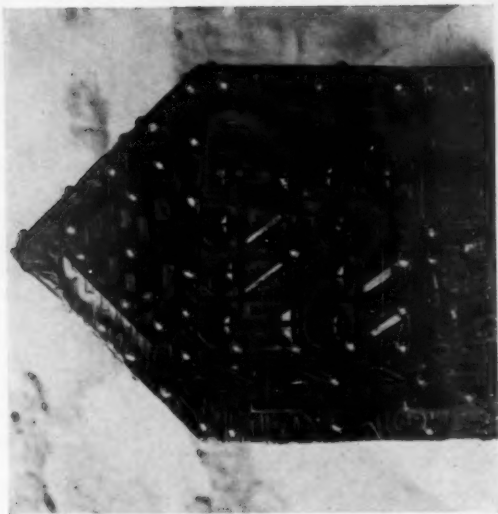


FIG. 2—*Side*

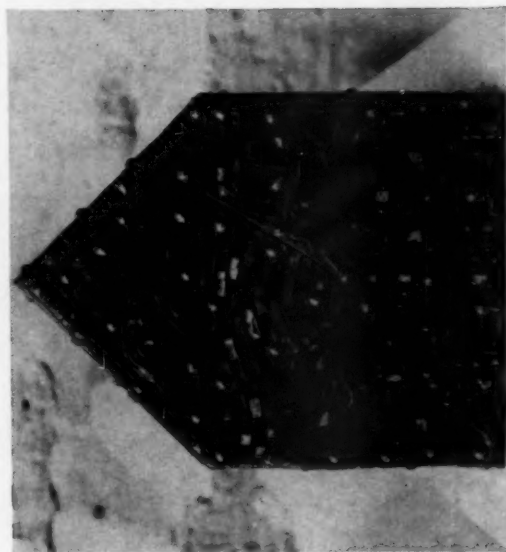


FIG. 3—*Side*



FIG. 4—*Back*

Bañares, Church: Enameled Reliquary



FIG. 1—Angel

León: Fragments from Romanesque Portal of San Isidoro



FIG. 2—Angel

A history of previous activity in the field, the knowledge of which is essential to the full appreciation of the present volume, is given briefly in the introduction. Bertaux first wrote on Spanish sculpture for Michel's *Histoire de l'art* in 1906,¹ seeing in Spain only the strong Cluniac influence penetrating from France; in this opinion other scholars tended to concur. The theory was sharply attacked by the late Kingsley Porter in a series of books and articles in which he systematically claimed priority and originality for Spanish monuments, accusing the French of national prejudice.² Porter's approach was rather desultory and much of his dating has since been refuted, but his enthusiasm and the fact that his works were abundantly illustrated nevertheless served the important purpose of bringing a great mass of material to notice. French scholars were brought to re-examine the Spanish question by way of refutation, and now we have the excellent work of Paul Deschamps³ and more recently, of Georges Gaillard, in periodicals⁴ and in the present volume, to give a more balanced point of view between two extremes.

Meanwhile eminent Spanish scholars had been active in surveying their own territory. Lamperez covered the field of medieval Spanish architecture in his great three volume edition.⁵ Of really prime importance for sculpture has been the work of Gómez-Moreno. His *Arte románico español*, published in 1934, will remain a fundamental text, based on painstaking knowledge of the monuments concerned.⁶ The chief weakness, of this work, as pointed out by Gaillard in a review,⁷ is that Gómez-Moreno failed to establish the correct chronological relation between the Spanish Romanesque and that of the rest of Europe. In making Spanish Romanesque art more precocious than that of France he was simply unaware that contemporary French scholarship had likewise pushed back the date of the origin of the French Romanesque, establishing the manifestations on both sides of the Pyrenees as approximately contemporary.

For Gaillard himself the controversy has been settled on this live-and-let-live principle. Given the phenomenon of the Romanesque springing up at widely separated sites along the pilgrimage route, he shows that original invention still operates at each point. If the pilgrimage itself gave the impetus in each country, there is neither need nor evidence for supposing that Spain was unequal to creating her own style, for she had a rich artistic tradition immediately at hand in the preceding Mozarabic culture.

The method which distinguishes Gaillard's book from previous studies is his treatment of certain key monuments only, those which show the beginning as well as the develop-

ment of the style. The sculpture of each church is discussed systematically in its evolution, the sense of unity maintained by the emphasis on the continuity of characteristics wherever possible.

It is with great pleasure that one finds the Colegiata of San Isidoro of León considered at the very outset of the book, thus giving a long-overdue recognition to the unique position of this church in Spanish Romanesque sculpture. One would rightly expect León to take the lead in the revival of building, sculpture, and minor arts which followed the depredations of Almanzor at the beginning of the eleventh century, since the flourishing Mozarabic art had previously centered here. But the fame of this church has been overshadowed in the past by its more famous neighbor at the end of the pilgrimage route, the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, which is unfortunate since the Colegiata well merits attention on both historical and aesthetic grounds. Its claim to primacy in such a study as this lies in the fact that its sculpture represents a more or less unbroken sequence of three-quarters of a century, beginning with perhaps the earliest group of Romanesque capitals in Spain. The latter are located in the so-called Pantheon of the Kings, which occupied the position of narthex to the small church built by Ferdinand I of León in 1063, on the site of a still earlier one. When this church was rebuilt in conformity with the larger pilgrimage type at the end of the century, the old Pantheon, burial place of the Kings of León, fortunately was retained intact.

Gaillard has made the most of these sculptured capitals of the Pantheon for their importance in demonstrating certain processes at work in the early development of the Romanesque. The foliate group is first treated in exhaustive detail, indicating the unquestionable derivation from the classical Corinthian type as finally interpreted by the Mozarabic, a point which Gómez-Moreno strangely enough fails to emphasize. Gaillard establishes a careful sequence of design, the evolutionary steps of which sometimes appear to be intended as a chronological sequence, which would be splitting the matter rather finely considering the close similarity of the capitals, but which, as a stylistic study showing progress toward the understanding of the architectural function of sculpture, is highly impressive.

The description of the figured capitals is likewise painstaking, but here the series is not so extensive at the outset, and the demonstration of prototypes and successors for the compositions, so important in the foliate group, is hardly attempted. In his introduction Gaillard indicates the manuscript style rather than the arts of ivory carving or metal work, as the source of figure style in the Romanesque. One would prefer if possible a closer indication of connection here, since the Pantheon is the very point at which such linkage could be most profitably established. There is also still room for iconographical research, the subject matter of the unicorn capital being a particularly curious matter. One would be ungrateful to quarrel with the work which Gaillard has accomplished. The fact is simply that it is already so good, that one would like to see it include everything.

In dealing with the main church of San Isidoro, which was rebuilt, roughly from 1072 to 1149, the problem of systematizing the material becomes more difficult. There are at least two important construction phases represented, and while the sculpture is in general congruent with these, it often overlaps sufficiently to make chronological classification doubtful. Gaillard has chosen therefore to arrange his material into three broad categories or workshops determined to a large extent by location, as apse, nave, and portals, cutting across the time sequence and often rather ignoring it.

The author emphasizes continuity of style wherever possible. There is a definite link between the sculptured capitals of the nave and Pantheon to begin with, seen both in the palmette or rinceau designs of the abaci, and in certain

1. Bertaux, E., *La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines au XIV^e siècle*, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*. Paris, Colin, 1906, II, 1, pp. 214-295.

2. A partial list of the publications is as follows: Porter, A. K., *The Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*. Boston, Jones, 1923, 10 vols.

Idem., *Spain or Toulouse? and other Questions*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, VII, pp. 3-25.

Idem., *The Leonese Romanesque and Southern France*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, VIII, pp. 235-250.

Idem., *Spanish Romanesque sculpture*, Florence, Pantheon, 1928, 2 vols.

3. Deschamps, P., *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le nord de l'Espagne*, in *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXXII (1923), pp. 305-351.

4. Gaillard, G., *Notes sur la date des sculptures de Compostelle et de León*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXI (1929), pp. 341-378.

Idem., *Les commencements de l'art roman en Espagne*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXXVII (1935), pp. 273-308.

5. Lamperez y Romea, V., *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana Española en la edad media*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1930, 3 vols.

6. His earlier publication was: Gómez-Moreno, M., *Catálogo monumental de España, Provincia de León*, Madrid, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, 1925, 2 vols. The later work of broader scope was: *Idem.*, *El arte románico español*, Madrid, Blass, 1934.

7. Gaillard, *Les commencements de l'art roman*, p. 273.

Idem., *Les débuts de la sculpture romane Espagnole*, p. XXXI.

of the foliate capitals. A striking proof of this is the fact that a capital of the church of 1063 has been re-employed in the present nave without giving rise to any sense of misfit aside from a discrepancy in format. One direct evidence of consciousness of the early style on the part of a later sculptor is the capital dating certainly from the first quarter of the twelfth century which employs, in a late and highly elaborated fashion, a Pantheon motif of animal heads projecting from an all-over vine pattern.

As for the fine storied capitals of the nave, and the primarily figured ones of the apsidal group, there is no possible connection with comparable types in the Pantheon, aside from abacus designs. Gaillard lays great stress on the interesting relation with the school of Jaca, which is seen most often in such details as similar abacus patterns, sometimes with balls at the corners, and the appearance of a pointed, striated protuberance beneath the volute (eventually a derivation from the acanthus leaf). When these resemblances are combined with others, the occasional capitals in both churches with analogous all-over rinceau designs, usually with animal heads or putti in addition, or, most important, the capitals as found on the Main Portal at León or re-employed in the modern chapel at Jaca which use the crouching figure, we have a fairly convincing body of evidence for interrelation of the two schools.

Gaillard feels that the sculpture of Jaca antedates on the whole that of León, but here there is perhaps not sufficient proof. With regard to the capitals just mentioned showing crouching demons or animals, face on, Gaillard cites as the original at Jaca an example in the nave, but considering the lack of chronological documentation and the fact that it seems to be too mutilated to permit of a clear view, the case for priority remains somewhat tenuous.

The third grouping at San Isidoro consists logically of the relief sculpture of the main and transept portals, both located on the south side of the church. Aside from the Pantheon, the portals have always been the best known portions of the church, and their relative dating a matter of somewhat casual speculation from Bertaux to Gómez-Moreno. Gaillard is the first to make a really careful study of the situation and offers a sensible solution taking into account both the architectural and stylistic evidence. He shows that the strong reliefs of the main portal probably antedated the portal, whose actual construction was almost contemporary with that of the transept portal, where the mode of sculpture is considerably more facile.⁸

In discussing the portals, particularly that of the transept, Gaillard goes out of his way to reverse the procedure of previous commentators and to minimize the connection with the style of Toulouse, as seen especially on the Miègeville door of St. Sernin. And perhaps he goes too far in asserting that the mere fact of independent parallel development will account for the relationship. Of course the tympanum of the transept portal at León was not copied directly from that of the Miègeville portal. At León two additional scenes have been added to the Ascension of Christ, which appears alone at Toulouse. In the former the style is softer, simpler, and less angular. Nevertheless it is impossible to deny the close connection. The sculptor of one tympanum surely knew the other. It would appear that the entire question of the relationship of the Spanish churches with Toulouse is still open to examination. But in fairness to Gaillard one must note that while he is a scholar of the Spanish Romanesque, he is always scrupulously just when he has occasion to mention French monuments, never denying the primary rank of Toulouse nor imputing to the Spanish churches an artistic merit beyond that which they possess.

With regard to the sculpture of the portals there is still one matter worthy of mention, concerning certain frag-

mentary reliefs which Gaillard has perhaps overlooked. He does discuss one relief of a saint, now in the local Museum, as having been originally intended for the ensemble of the main portal. The reason given is that the material is of white marble as are the reliefs of the main portal, that the ensemble of the main portal is obviously not in its original position whereas the transept portal is complete. However, it seems more probable that stylistically this saint bears little or no relation to the work of the main portal and is very close to that of the transept. Is it not possible that the north transept portal, at present undecorated except for its capitals, might have once had relief sculpture carved for it, if not actually set in place? There exist two other hitherto unpublished fragmentary reliefs not mentioned by Gaillard, one showing a full length adoring angel beside the fragment of a second figure (Fig. 1) the other a small angel with book in hand leaning over what was apparently the frame of a mandorla, evidently representing Matthew, one of the four symbols of the evangelists (Fig. 2). Both are unmistakably in the Toulousan style of the south transept portal and seem to be good evidence for the existence of a body of relief sculpture intended perhaps for the north portal.

But these criticisms are minor beside the outstanding positive qualities of the exposition. The Colegiata of San Isidoro has been established for all time in its rightful place in Spanish sculpture, and its original artistic contribution enthusiastically recognized. The Pantheon is admired in its precocity, likewise the full-blown style of the later church with its decorative foliate capitals and its feeling for graceful symmetrical composition and effectively simplified volume of the nude in high relief, as on the capitals of the acrobats or the women with serpents. The variety of style is considerable, as shown in the crouching figures on the capitals of the main portal which are less fine in the individual elements but functionally satisfying, the great statues of saints beside the portal, monumental in themselves but architecturally almost too heavy, and lastly the finely wrought reliefs of the zodiac across the top of the portal.

One is furthermore grateful that the material for the study of this church has been made so available. The illustrations, while not all-inclusive, are particularly valuable as they present some hitherto unpublished photographs; precise information as to the location of the capitals in the nave of the church is furnished for the first time. Organization of the text is a difficult problem at best, as one who has struggled with the subject matter will readily understand, and if Gaillard has not achieved the absolutely perfect solution it is by far the best which has appeared, giving the sculpture a unity and identity which it has not hitherto possessed.

The next church considered by the author is the Cathedral of San Pedro at Jaca, representing the first station of the pilgrimage route on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. It is not well documented, but 1063 may safely be taken as the foundation date. Construction was probably slow and interrupted. We know for certain only that in 1904 it was still in progress of construction. The sculpture is at any rate posterior to that of the Pantheon at León, but Gaillard further assumes that it is earlier than the work of the main church of San Isidoro, which seems difficult of proof. As already noted there is a dearth of evidence for the dating of any phase of the construction at Jaca and it is possible that both the earlier and later periods at both churches were to some extent simultaneous. However this may be, the definite relationship between the two, despite wide separation in space and markedly individual developments of style, is worthy of note.

The earliest sculpture at Jaca is presumably that of the apse exterior. Here one notes the Cordovan modillions, and the surprisingly delicate and subtle relief of the animal and human forms on the metopes of the cornice. The foliate

8. *Idem.*, *Notes sur les dates des sculptures de Compostelle et de León*, pp. 372-376.

capitals of the windows below are very close to the types found at the same location at León.

The capitals of the nave again show a general resemblance to those of León in the designs of the abaci. Foliate capitals predominate, but unlike those at San Isidoro, tend to the use of small elements, to the breaking up of the surface into innumerable fine linear details, handsome but almost precious. The less abundant figured and storied capitals are still dominated by the foliate framework. Again unlike León, the figures remain in relatively low relief; the compositions are complicated. But two of the group, one a scene of nude putti playing among waves, arrive at sufficient clarity and simplicity of elements to have memorable charm.

The real figure style of Jaca appears primarily on the capitals of the portals, which show successive development from the west to a climax at the south portal and porch, followed by a subsequent stylization. The mark of Jaca continues here to be a decorative effect obtained through parallel striations which cover all elements, whether the volutes, rosettes and other vestiges of the foliate capital, or the hair and drapery of the figures. The result is rich and highly coloristic. Particularly amazing is the capital depicting King David as musician, on the central face, with no less than eleven musicians grouped around him on the two sides of the capital, the fourth side being against the wall.

The figure type is slender and athletic; the full length nude, Isaac, placed at the corner in the scene of the sacrifice of Abraham is especially noteworthy. Even if derived from a classical relief, as Gaillard suggests, he is yet in complete harmony with his surroundings. Again in contrast to the figured capitals in the nave of San Isidoro, of which at least the earliest must be approximately contemporary with the Jaca work, there is little feeling here for salient plastic relief, but rather one of all-over elaboration of pattern, sometimes accompanied by considerable dash and spirit.

Also notable among the capitals are two now reused in the modern chapel, which show crouching figures similar in pose to those on the main portal at San Isidoro. Functionally these are perhaps the most successful of those at Jaca. Rather baroque in effect, with full rounded form and inflated cheeks, they appear to be late and are reminiscent of the types on the Miègeville portal at St. Sernin, although Gaillard would be disinclined to such a comparison.

One must further not neglect to mention the famous tympanum of the west portal of Jaca, chronologically somewhat earlier. Two lions, representing Christ, one treading on the basilisk and viper while the other spares a penitent sinner, face each other across a great circle containing a crismón, which, however, has become a symbol of the Trinity due to misinterpretation. The design and the figures have an almost archaic stiffness, but the whole has a monumental dignity and a fine precision of execution, which makes it highly successful in its position.

All in all the sculpture of the Cathedral of Jaca lends itself more easily to organization than that of San Isidoro or León. There is so little documentary evidence for dating the various portions of the construction that the student is free to arrange the material on purely stylistic grounds, an occupation at which Gaillard excels. He has done an excellent task here in presenting the various phases of the sculpture, in bringing out the individual characteristics. As with San Isidoro, his illustrations are small but adequate on the whole, and the fact that the comparative material on related churches is close at hand is very helpful.

To afford a more comprehensive view of the Romanesque sculpture of this region Gaillard next discusses a number of less important but related works. Of these, two small early churches, S. Maria da Iguacel and S. Salvador de Nogal, are significant only in being examples, now so rare, of the milieu from which Romanesque grew. The Aragonese church of S. Cruz de la Serós, at the foot of S. Juan de la

Peña, has a portal tympanum with two lions framing a crismón, which is, according to Gaillard and contrary to other critics, earlier than the tympanum of Jaca Cathedral, and forms with other tympana of upper Aragon, such as the three at S. Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, a special group worthy of further study. Later than the Cathedral of Jaca are the two superposed churches of Loarre, which, he says, cannot be dated by the inscription 1095, carved on a stone which he believes to have been re-employed from a former structure. The sculptured decoration of these churches shows, in fact, the varied influences of the Cathedral of Jaca and the churches of León Moissac, Toulouse, and the Romanesque school of west France.

In the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela Gaillard finds the focal center of the most diverse elements concurring in the formation of Romanesque art, and its southern portal, the Puerta de las Platerías, is, he says, the most considerable ensemble of Spanish Romanesque sculpture extant. Two documents, the *Historia Compostellana* and Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus*, establish the date 1078 for the beginning of the Cathedral. In agreement with these documents Gaillard accepts the traditional reading of the now famous inscription on a jamb of the Platerías portal as July 11, 1078, despite Gómez-Moreno's⁹ reading of it as 1103. Further documentary evidence shows that preparations were under way by the year 1077 or even in 1075. Gaillard reconciles these several dates by regarding the carved inscription as the date of some official ceremony. It would, however, appear to me unnecessary to lay undue weight to the interpretation of this inscription as it must have been carved long after the date it bears, and may, indeed, be less a case of remarkable coincidence with the documents than of a direct copying from them, or of them from it.

Through the many vicissitudes of the construction the author traces a fairly clear picture of the early history of the church from its beginning to the cessation of work in 1088. The new era of construction was begun in 1100, and in 1105 the chapels were dedicated. Upon the completion of the ensemble of the transept in 1112 the nave of the older church was demolished, the new nave completed 1122 or 1124, forty-four years after the foundation. Since the consecration of 1105 did not include the north chapel of the transept Gaillard assumes that the southern portal, the Puerta de las Platerías, is the oldest, dating it between 1105 and 1112. The mass of the sculpture of the portal he considers to be anterior to 1112 and ascribes the anomalies in its arrangement to the reconstruction after the fire of 1117.

The decoration of the chevet the author divides between two groups of workmen. To the earlier he attributes the exterior window capitals of the apse, as well as some details on the interior, and to the later and more accomplished group, from León, the capitals of the transept and the high vaults, the modillions, cornices, and figures in the round surmounting the chapels of San Juan and Santa Fé, the latter being unique in all Romanesque sculpture.

A convincing and important argument is the relationship with the school of Auvergne which Gaillard shows is evident in certain capitals of the chevet, in details of the ambulatory, radiating chapels and nave, and in the square plan of the chapel of San Salvador. This argument is further supported by the evidence of the modillions on the exterior of the chapel of San Pedro, and of a small lintel over a newly discovered door between the chapels of San Juan and Santa Fé, which has the triangular form characteristic of Auvergne.

Toward the solution of the manifold problems surrounding the Platerías portal the author has been able to contribute little new material beyond what he has already previously published. He states that the pleating of the garments of the figures in the scene of the Temptation in

9. Gómez-Moreno, M., *op. cit.*, p. 116.

the left tympanum is remarkable and that there is hardly another example of this amazing technique in the whole façade, yet it appears in at least four other large reliefs, two jamb figures which the author has himself noted and in two scenes in the right tympanum, the Adoration of the Magi and the Passion. These he ascribes to a local workman and characterizes them as "infantile." It is surprising that he could have failed to observe the similarity of these pieces to the Last Judgment at Sainte-Foy de Conques, to which attention had already been drawn by Kingsley Porter.¹⁰

The great Blessing Christ in the center of the top row of the portal Gaillard finds too late to come within the scope of his study. Gómez-Moreno¹¹ more boldly and with perfect justice ascribed this statue to Master Matthew, the sculptor of the Portico de la Gloria of the west entrance of the cathedral. Gaillard quotes Don Xesus Carro as authority that the small angels to the right of the Christ came from a thirteenth century structure and were only added in 1884. Closer study, however, might have revealed to Gaillard the exact similarity of the style of these agnells to that of the Blessing Christ and of the trumpeting angels of the Portico de la Gloria. With these figures he might also have grouped several works now in the Museum of the Cathedral, all of which may well have formed part of that section of the Portico de la Gloria demolished in the middle of the eighteenth century to make way for the present Plateresque façade.

In the slender proportions of other figures along the top rank of the Platerías portal can be discerned a distinct style which Gaillard says is one of the great original contributions of Compostella. The magnificent St. James, to the left of the Blessing Christ, bears an inscription, *Hic in Monte Thesu mirature Glorificatu*. Of this he remarks that the subject of the Transfiguration was more properly represented on the west front, but because of another inscription on the relief, *Anfus Rex*, he persists in his belief, held by every other writer on the subject, that the work dates from before 1109, the year of the death of Alfonso VI. It is interesting to note that no critic appears to have considered seriously the possibility that this may refer to Alfonso VII who became king in Galicia in 1126, upon the death of his mother, Doña Urraca. This is an important detail since it is the date 1109 which Gaillard uses to prove the early date of the bulk of the sculpture.

Gaillard does, however, recognize the similarity of style between this relief and another, traditionally said to represent Abraham, placed in the spandrel above the two doors. This work he believes came from the early west façade of the church because of its inscription, *Trasfigu(rati)o Thesu*, yet he fails to explain how a work done before 1109 could have so exact an identity, both in carving and epigraphy, with one which, to follow Gaillard's own thesis, must have been executed at least ten years later. In fact it is this second figure which he believes to have been the St. James which would have been represented in the Transfiguration portal. The inscription it bears, *Surgit Habraham de Tumulo*, on which its traditional designation rests is dismissed as an error on the part of the sculptor, but the author offers no positive grounds for this ascription. Although he states that the nimbus worn by this figure would make it impossible to consider it a representation of Abraham, it is noteworthy that he has failed to observe that in the Sacrifice of Isaac, to the right of the portal, the Abraham is likewise nimbed. His new identification of the figure in the spandrel under the Abraham as Moses, rather than as Sarah or Hagar is much sounder. Gaillard is apparently the first to have distinguished the horns on the head, but he has failed to observe that Moses clasps a pair of great wings about himself.

On the whole this chapter on the Platerías portal has added little to the understanding of the confused iconography of the ensemble. The author has refused to attempt an explanation of the mysterious figure of the woman holding the skull in the left tympanum, called the Adulteress, and he only explains the boy riding a monster in this same tympanum as a part of the Temptation, although he had already divorced it from this scene because of its style and patchlike insertion. A misconception in studies of Romanesque art is revealed by Gaillard's statement that the figure bearing the two large tablets, on the left jamb of the left door, would be Moses were it not for the bare feet, apparently forgetting that the Moses of the Portico de la Gloria is likewise unshod.¹²

The large reliefs superposed on the buttresses to the left and right of the façade the author briefly dismisses as "probably re-employed from other façades" and later in style than the rest of the sculpture on the portal, making no attempt to place them in any exact chronology with the other sculpture or to correlate them with what is known of the other façades. The relief of the Expulsion from Eden, definitely mentioned in the *Codex Calixtinus* as having been on the north portal, has a companion piece in the¹³ museum of the Cathedral, which Gaillard has overlooked. If an intelligent reconstruction of these other portals is ever to be made, a more critical study of these reliefs on the buttresses and in the cathedral museum should be made.

Straddling the old problem, "Spain or Toulouse," Gaillard finds in the ornament the only constant similarity between the work of the school of Languedoc and that of the Spanish end of the pilgrimage route. He explains the apparent similarity in the figure sculpture of the two groups as that arising from two schools flowing in parallel currents from the same source, with occasional direct contacts, the León workmen showing the influence of Mozarabic models and the Toulousan, Roman, or Visigothic examples, and he traces an indigenous development in each of two monuments, St. Sernin on the French side and San Isidoro de León on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees.

Though such an explanation may be accepted for works of the eleventh century, as shown by the Pantheon of the Kings at León, its plausibility is more than strained by the evidence of the monumental figure sculpture of the pilgrimage roads which he has made it his special task to study in this important publication. It is rather too facile a denial of the problems which still surround the ancestry of the St. James of the Platerías portal and the St. James of the Miègeville door of St. Sernin, or a host of other works, where the question "Spain or Toulouse?" remains unanswered. But in his insistence on a specific Spanish style produced by a native Spanish genius Gaillard rises above any nationalistic bias and has made a memorable contribution in showing the unique qualities of Spanish Romanesque art.

ELISABETH PUCKETT AND JOHN H. B. KNOWLTON

PREMIERS ESSAIS DE SCULPTURE MONUMENTALE EN CATALOGNE AUX X^{me} ET XI^{me} SIÈCLES. By G. Gaillard. Paris, Hartmann, 1938.

The title of Gaillard's book is significant since critical interest in the origins of a developed style, such as Romanesque, is comparatively recent in the history of art. While it is true, as Gaillard himself is first to suggest, that the early work of the obscure stonemasons of Catalonia is not always successful nor aesthetically pleasing, one can still not fully appreciate the mature Romanesque style without a knowledge of these experiments, the most fruitful of which were later to be developed, the others to be discarded and forgotten until a generation of enterprising archeolo-

10. Porter, A. K., *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrimage roads*, pp. 228 ff.

11. Gómez-Moreno, M., *op. cit.*, p. 131.

12. Ill., Porter, A. K., *op. cit.*, VI, fig. 829.

13. *Ibid.*, VI, fig. 693.

gists came along. For we know now, thanks to the work of Focillon and others, that the renaissance of monumental sculpture which took place at the end of the eleventh century was not sudden but the result of a long series of patient experiments in the preceding century. It is with this earlier aspect that the present work is concerned.

Catalonia, a small and conservative country, still possesses today many monuments of the tenth and eleventh centuries of a type which have disappeared elsewhere, on the basis of which Puig y Cadafalch defined the "first Romanesque style." According to Gaillard, the great importance of the region rests in the fact that it appears to have been an intermediary between the Moslem civilization of Andalusia and the Christian civilization of the North. Though Catalonia was under Moslem rule for a short period only, she never lost contact with the South, and the Moorish stamp is unmistakably discernible in the art.

The first section of Gaillard's book is concerned with the capitals of the tenth century, beginning with certain examples from Ripoll, two from the sarcophagus of Count Berenguer the Great and others from the lower cloister. Puig y Cadafalch had already noted their resemblance to Moorish capitals of the second half of the eleventh century; later Hernandez concluded that they were of Moslem workmanship. Gaillard goes further, however, in distinguishing two distinct types in this series, one of Cordovan and the other of local origin.

The Cordovan capital of the Umayyad period was distinguished from its classical ancestors, the Corinthian and Composite, by the simplification and flattening of the leaves against the capital as well as by a general change in format, vertical elongation of the capital and multiplication of the abacus. The two capitals from the sarcophagus appear to be direct examples of pure Cordovan work as thus defined, certain minor details, such as the replacement of the caulices by serpents, indicating this fact beyond a doubt. In establishing the date of these capitals, Gaillard not only reinforces his argument but makes an important archaeological contribution. They have previously been attributed to the basilica consecrated by Abbot Oliva in 1032, but the Cordovan analogy would make them earlier. Gaillard suggests that they belonged to the tenth century church built by Count Oliva Cabresa and consecrated in 977. The fact of the presence of Cordovan artists in Catalonia at this time is attested at San Miguel de Cuxa, consecrated in 947.

A second series of capitals discussed by Gaillard, one from Ripoll and two from Cornella de Llobregat, near Barcelona, appear to be derived from the Umayyad type but to represent Mozarabic workmanship. They are particularly characterized by the use of a double-lobed palm in the upper register, which issues from a single stem, one lobe occupying the position of the caulice, the other of the volute. At Cornella the acanthus leaves of the lower registers are also decomposed by stylized palmettes carved on their surface, a departure from the Andalusian models. The capitals of Cornella appear to be slightly later than Ripoll, but are still tenth century in all probability, a supposition borne out by the very archaic plan of the church as recently excavated.

The contemporary capitals of the old church of San Benet de Bages, consecrated in 972, show again the Cordovan and Mozarabic types similar to those just mentioned. But particularly interesting here is the contrast with another style as seen in a rather archaic looking capital of somewhat cubic form, with an exaggerated astragal. One side is decorated with a floral design recalling Merovingian sarcophagi, the other three have sculptured panels with human figures in timid relief. Detail is a matter of simple incision rather than modelling. The scenes are uncomplicated, representing Christ in Majesty, the Annunciation and an Orant accompanied by a choir boy respectively. Yet, however unprepossessing, this capital marks

the reappearance of the human figure in the sculpture of Catalonia, the first attempt to give it relief, space, and movement. On the other hand, this type was apparently not so adapted to the development of Romanesque monumentality as the round Corinthian form, and it is the latter, as derived through Cordova, which was really ancestral to the Romanesque. Despite the modesty of the remains, the importation of Umayyad capitals into Catalonia in the third quarter of the tenth century seems to have played a definite rôle in providing the Romanesque sculptors with a working model in the rejuvenated Corinthian form.

But at the same time other traditions, also influenced by Cordova, were mingling with local practices to produce a school of marble sculptors—the stone carvers of the Pyrénées-Orientales—likewise important for the formation of the Romanesque style. The second section of Gaillard's work is concerned with a series of altar tables and lintels, of the early tenth through the eleventh centuries. Two groups are discussed, first the altar tables of the Hérault region, and secondly, the atelier of the Pyrénées-Orientales, centering in the quarries near Arles-sur-Tech.

The first school is of perhaps lesser importance in the evolution of monumental sculpture. It is characterized by the marble altar table and bishop's cathedra of Gerona Cathedral, both probably early eleventh century in date. The decoration is primarily foliate, with a characteristic three-lobed floret and bunches of grapes. The bishop's cathedra also includes the symbols of the Evangelists, direct transpositions into stone of the Carolingian ivory type, showing clearly the inexperience of the artist in figure carving. The source of the foliate decoration is Cordovan, but as seen through Mozarabic manuscripts. Puig y Cadafalch has pointed out the similarities with the Ashburnham Beatus a MS. now in the Morgan Library. The Moslem influence was in general only indirect, for the sculpture technique of small ornament raised in varied relief on a flat ground, is foreign to contemporary Moorish work.

The second school, of Arles-sur-Tech, may have played a more important rôle in the development of Romanesque style. The first important production of this atelier was probably the altar table of S. André de Sureda, of the early eleventh century. While the foliate design is in general Moorish in origin and thus similar to the Gerona altar table, it differs in receiving a freer treatment. The rigid symmetry of the Moslem work is gone. The pattern varies continually and even the corner motifs are decentralized. The resulting irregularities, the constant possibility of new creation—these constitute the essential differences between Moorish and Romanesque art.

Belonging to this same school is the lintel of Saint-Genis des Fontaines, dated 1020-1021. Gaillard's analysis of this famous monument is interesting. On the one hand Moorish influence is strong again, both in the decorative motifs, the horseshoe arch being the most obvious element, and in the technique of stone cutting. The figure style, however, is still hesitant. But it is on the basis of the latter rather than on the Moorish elements that Gaillard considers the lintel a germinating point of the Romanesque style, even the earliest dated work of Romanesque sculpture, rather than the Mozarabic survival which recent scholars have more usually labeled it. The basis for Gaillard's opinion is the fact that the lintel exhibits the principle by which the human figure is adapted to the architectural setting, a truly Romanesque idea. A similar lintel of the same school, that of San André de Sureda, slightly later in date, shows a development of the little arcaded figures in the direction of greater modeling, volume, and movement. On the other hand the tympanum from this church, dated 1046, is mannered and lifeless in its style.

The heights of figure style to which the sculptors of the region attained may be gauged by a mutilated fragment of

an apostle at Soreda. The form persists even through the worn condition of the relief, and the life and vigor of the figure may be favorably compared with the most perfect creations of the sculptors of Toulouse. This assertion brings Gaillard to his main thesis, namely that these early experiments of the Pyrenean marble cutters may have been influential in preparing the renaissance of monumental sculpture in Languedoc at the end of the century. At that later time Catalonia produced only works of secondary importance, for it lacked the necessary social and economic milieu for the development of its art. Toulouse on the other hand possessed great courts and monasteries, but had neither stone nor workers. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the enormous artistic activity at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc was due at least partly to the presence of stone workers from the Pyrénées-Orientales.

The third section of Gaillard's book is devoted to the work of isolated sculptors throughout Catalonia, not directly dependent on either the school of Ripoll or of the Pyrénées-Orientales. These works are of rather mediocre artistic merit, but are interesting as they show a common orientation towards certain traits of the developed Romanesque. San Martin de Canigou, dating from the first quarter of the eleventh century, has capitals in the form of an extremely wide reversed pyramid, with greatly simplified foliate motifs derived from the Mozarabic. But one of the figured capitals shows a man in the architecturally functional position of Atlas.

The capitals of S. Barthomeu de la Cuadra, and less directly, of Elne and S. Miguel de Fluvia, show the influence of the Andalusian style of Ripoll, in the proportions as well as in the ornamental detail. S. Miguel de Fluvia, dated 1066 by Gaillard, has capitals which are particularly interesting in having the human figure added to the Umayyad foliate form. Whereas the Cordovan capital was intended to be seen free in space and accented an indented silhouette, the tendency of the Romanesque capital, placed against a wall, was to emphasize the vertical axis of the column by giving predominance to the median motif. This is the point at which the human figure, so well adapted to the architectural rôle, assumes great significance. The innovation appears earliest in Catalonia at S. Miguel. While here the median figure never completely dominates the foliage of the Cordovan type, the three part horizontal division being maintained, the new trend toward verticality is nevertheless apparent.

Gaillard is the first to have studied carefully the capitals of the nave of the Cathedral of Elne, always well known for its beautiful cloister. The history of the construction is extremely complex, but Gaillard's analysis agrees with my own hypothesis, formulated independently, that the capitals of the nave date in general from the mid-eleventh century. Furthermore we see here a real attempt on the part of the sculptors to free themselves from traditional formulae, the capitals differing radically from the Cordovan type. Width exceeds height, and the three superimposed zones have been eliminated. The foliate types are covered with an all-over design of interlace. But most interesting is the development in the use of the human figure. On one capital only a head appears beneath the central rosette but on another the man occupies the entire center of the composition, feet firmly planted on the astragal, hands raised and brandishing the caulices aloft. He is somewhat more advanced than the figure on the capital at Canigou, for he succeeds in dominating the composition. This is again the ancestor of the Atlas figure of the Romanesque. These are humble experiments to be sure, but they stand at the beginning of the development which leads to the organic living unity of architecture and decoration which we call the Romanesque style.

American readers will be quick to note that one very important monument, dating for the most part from the first half of the eleventh century in Catalonia, has not

been mentioned by the author, possibly because of its recent removal to this country. The cloister of Saint-Genis des Fontaines, the church so famous for its lintel, is now handsomely installed in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. However, it was discussed by Puig y Cadafalch in situ¹ as well as in more recent publications since its removal to this country.² The capitals show both foliate and figured forms, the human figures not far removed in articulation from those of the lintel, the compositions very simple, but belonging certainly in the line of early Romanesque development as already outlined.

In connection with eleventh century capitals from Catalonia now in this country, one would like to mention also the interesting group from San Miguel de Cuxa, of which two are now installed in the Romanesque chapel of the Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, while a third is still in Roussillon; the whereabouts of the probable fourth are unknown. These capitals are from Cuxa, of the Corinthian type, the treatment handsome if in no way revolutionary. But the history behind them is an extremely interesting one if they are the originals of a type of monument rarely preserved from this period, a marble ciborium.³ There exists a letter in Latin written by a monk, Garcia, describing in detail the wonderful ciborium which had been constructed in the monastery church of Cuxa by the famous Abbot Oliu about 1040,⁴ and from this data, together with the stylistic evidence that the capitals are of this general period, it is possible to assume with a fair degree of probability that they are actually the ones in question. The two at the Cloisters have been carefully arranged about an altar, in conjunction with two slightly smaller capitals of less certain provenience, somewhat similar in style but less rigid in adherence to the Corinthian model, one having a face in place of the central rosette.

But to return to Gaillard's book, we find it, brief and selective as it is, of great importance for the study of the question of Andalusian influence in Catalonia as well as for that problem of the earliest uses of the human figure in proto-Romanesque work. The hypothesis concerning the rôle of Catalonia in the transmission of the form of the capital and of decorative motifs to the ateliers of southern France at the end of the eleventh century, thereby contributing to the renaissance of monumental sculpture, is an interesting field for investigation. The style of the book is clear and forceful and the illustrative material excellent, although it is to be regretted that exact references to plates and figure numbers are not given until the final chapter. The work should be of interest and value to all students of mediaeval art, since the material is well presented and the implications of the basic hypotheses far reaching.

ELLEN WEILL

SHAKER FURNITURE, By Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937. ix, 133 pp.; 48 collotype plates.

CONSIDER THE LILIES HOW THEY GROW; AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SYMBOLISM OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN ART. By John Joseph Stoudt. The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1937. 333 pp.; many illustrations, some in color.

1. Puig y Cadafalch, J., *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*. Barcelona, Institut d'estudis catalans, 1918, III 1, pp. 335 ff.

2. Taylor, F. H., *A Princely Gift. The Romanesque Section of the Museum*, in *The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, XXIV (1928), no. 123, pp. 5, ff.; and in *The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, XXVI (1931), no. 140, p. 15; Kimball, F., *L'art du moyen âge au Pennsylvania Museum*, in *Beaux-arts*, VIII (March, 1938), pp. 1 ff.

3. Rorimer, J. J., *The Cloisters*, in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1938, pp. 25 ff., and p. 38.

4. Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II, 174, pp. 408 ff.

HANDICRAFTS OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS. By Allen H. Eaton. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. 370 pp.; 58 illustrations from photographs taken by Doris Ulmann.

ART AND LIFE IN NEW GUINEA. By Raymond Firth. London and New York, The Studio Publications, Inc., 1936. 126 pp.; many illustrations.

L'ART DES ILES MARQUISES. By Willowdean C. Handy, with an Introduction by E. S. Craighill Handy. Paris, Les Editions d'art et d'Histoire, 1938. 55 pp.; 24 outline figures and 19 colotype plates.

THE ART OF ENJOYING ART. By A. Philip MacMahon. New York, Whittlesey House, 1938. ix, 223 pp.; 96 pp. of illustrations.

The volumes listed above agree in their approach to the history of art. Works of art are here considered, not as ends in themselves as though man had been made for art, but as having been made, like the Sabbath, "for man" and to be judged entirely with reference to "good use." The purpose of art is taken to be utilitarian, rather than "aesthetic" (sensational); meaning by "utility" whatever corresponds to man's necessity, who cannot live (as a man, but only as an animal) "by bread alone." This is a return to the position of Plato ("the pilot is the judge of ships") and that of Aristotle ("the general end of art is the good of man").

Shaker Furniture emphasizes the spiritual significance of perfect craftsmanship, and as the authors remark, "The relationship between a way of life and a way of work invests the present study with special interest." And truly a humane interest, since here the way of life and way of work (*karma yoga* of the *Bhagavad Gītā*) are one and the same way; and as BG likewise tells us in the same connection "Man attains perfection by the intensity of his devotion to his own proper task," working that is to say not for himself or for his own glory but only "for the good of the work to be done." The Shaker way of life was one of order; an order or rule that may be compared to that of a monastic community. At the same time "The idea of worship in work was at once a doctrine and a daily discipline . . . the ideal was variously expressed that secular achievements should be as 'free from error' as conduct, that manual labor was a type of religious ritual, that godliness should illuminate life at every point."

In this they were better Christians than many others. All tradition has seen in the Master-Craftsman of the Universe the exemplar of the human artist or "maker by art," and we are told to be "perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." That the Shakers were doctrinally Perfectionists, is the final explanation of the perfection of Shaker workmanship; or, as we might have said, of its "beauty." We say "beauty," despite the fact that the Shakers scorned the word in its worldly and luxurious applications; it is a matter of bare fact that they who ruled that "Beatings, mouldings, and cornices, which are merely for fancy may not be made by Believers" were consistently better carpenters than are to be found in the world of unbelievers. In the light of medieval theory we cannot wonder at this; for in the perfection, order, and illumination which were made the proof of the good life we recognize precisely those qualities (*integritas sive perfectio, consonantia, claritas*) which are for St. Thomas the "requisites of beauty" in things made by art. "The result was the elevation of hitherto uninspired, provincial joiners to the position of fine craftsmen, actuated by worthy traditions and a guildlike pride . . . The peculiar correspondence between Shaker culture and Shaker artisanship should be seen as the result of the penetration of the spirit into all secular activity. Current in the United Society was the proverb: 'Every force evolves a form.' . . . The eventual results of this penetration of religion into the workshop, as we have noted, was the discarding of all values in design

which attach to surface decoration in favor of the values inherent in form, in the harmonious relationship of parts and the perfected unity of form."

Shaker art is in fact far more closely related to the perfection and severity of primitive and "savage" art (of which the Shakers probably knew nothing and which they would not have "understood") than are the "many shrewdly reticent modern creations" in which the outward aspects of primitive and functional art are consciously imitated. The beautiful photographs by W. F. Winter, so admirably reproduced, at the same time sufficiently demonstrate that Shaker art was not in any sense a "crafty" or "mission style," deliberately "rustic," but one of the greatest refinement and that achieved "an effect of subdued elegance, even of delicacy (cf. Pls. 26, 36) . . . at once precise and differentiated." One thing that made this possible was the fact that given the context in which the furniture was to be used, "the joiners were not forced to anticipate carelessness and abuse."

The style of Shaker furniture, like that of their costume, was impersonal; it was, indeed, one of the "Millennial Laws" that "No one should write or print his name on any article of manufacture, that others may hereafter know the work of his hands."¹ And this Shaker style was almost uniform from beginning to end; it is a collective and not an individualistic expression. Originality and invention appear, not as a sequence of fashions or as an "aesthetic" phenomenon, but whenever there were new *uses* to be served; the Shaker system coincided with and did not resist "the historic transference of occupations from the home to the shop or small factory; and new industries were conducted on a scale requiring laborsaving devices and progressive methods. The versatility of the Shaker workmen is well illustrated by the countless tools invented for unprecedented techniques."

We cannot refrain from observing how closely the Shaker position corresponds to the medieval Christian in this matter of art. The founders of the Shaker order can hardly have read St. Thomas, yet it might have been one of themselves that had said that if ornament (*decor*) is made the chief end of a work, it is mortal sin, but if a secondary cause may be either quite in order or merely a venial fault; and that the artist is responsible as a man for whatever he undertakes to make, as well as responsible as an artist for making to the best of his ability (*Sum. Theol.* II-II.167.2 c and 169.2 ad 4): or that "Everything is said to be good insofar as it is perfect, for in that way only is it desirable. . . . The perfections of all things are so many similitudes of the divine being" (*ib.* I.6.5.c 6. 6 ad 2)—"all things," of course, including even brooms and hoes and other "useful articles" (pp. 6, 24) made *secundum rectam rationem artis*. The Shaker would have understood immediately what to the modern aesthete seems obscure, Bonaventura's "light of a mechanical art."

It would, indeed, be perfectly possible to outline a Shaker theory of beauty in complete agreement with what we have often called the "normal view of art." We find, for example (pp. 20-21, 61-63), in Shaker writings that "God is the great artist or master-builder;" that only when all the parts of a house or a machine have been perfectly ordered, "then the beauty of the machinery and the wisdom of the artist are apparent;" that "order is the creation of beauty. It is heaven's first law [cf. Gk. *κόσμος*, Skr. *ṛta*] and the protection of souls. . . . Beauty rests on utility;" and conversely that "the falling away from any spiritual epoch has been marked by the ascendancy of the aesthetics" (*sic*). Most remarkable is the statement that that beauty is best which is "peculiar to the flower, or generative period" and not that "which belongs to the

1. Cf. *Dhammapada*, p. 74, "May it be known to both religious and profane that *This was my work*' . . . That is a notion befitting an infant."

ripened fruit and grain." For the corresponding Indian doctrine of *unmilana* (= *sphota*, cf. vernacular *phāt-phāt*) and a fuller analysis of this conception see my note in *Technical Studies*, III, pp. 74-75. Nor is the matter without an economic bearing. We treat "art" as a luxury, which the common man can hardly afford, and as something to be found in a museum rather than a home or business office: yet although the Shaker furniture is of museum quality, "the New Lebanon trustees reported that the actual cost of furnishing one of our dwellings for the comfortable accommodation of 60 or 70 inmates would fall far short of the sum often expended in furnishing some single parlors in the cities of New York and Albany." One is moved to ask whether our own "high standard of living" is really anything more than a high standard of paying, and whether any of us are really getting our money's worth. In the case of furniture, for example, we are certainly paying much more for things of inferior quality.

In all this there would appear to be something that has been overlooked by our modern culturalists who are engaged in the teaching of art and of art appreciation, and by our exponents of the doctrine of art as self-expression in any case as an expression of emotions, or "feelings." The primary challenge put by this splendid book, a perfect example of expertise in the field of art history, may be stated in the form of a question: Is not the "mystic," after all, the only really "practical" man?

Our authors remark that "as compromises were made with principle, the crafts inevitably deteriorated." In spite of their awareness of this, the authors envisage the possibility of a "revival" of Shaker style: the furniture "can be produced again, never as the inevitable expression of time and circumstance, yet still as something to satisfy the mind which is surfeited with over-ornamentation and mere display," produced—shall we say at Grand Rapids?—for "people with limited means but educated taste . . . who will seek a union of practical convenience and quiet charm." In other words, a new outlet is to be provided for the bourgeois fantasy of "cult"-ure when other period furnishings have lost their "charm." The museums will undoubtedly be eager to assist the interior decorator. It does not seem to occur to anyone that things are only beautiful in the environment for which they were designed, or as the Shaker expressed it, when "adapted to condition" (p. 62). Shaker style was not a "fashion" determined by "taste," but a creative activity "adapted to condition."

Innumerable cultures, some of which we have destroyed, have been higher than our own: still, we do not rise to the level of Greek humanity by building imitation Parthenons, nor to that of the Middle Ages by living in pseudo-Gothic chateaux. To imitate Shaker furniture would be no proof of a creative virtue in ourselves: their austerity, imitated for our convenience, economic or aesthetic, becomes a luxury in us; their avoidance of ornament an interior "decoration" for us. We should rather say of the Shaker style *requiescat in pace* than attempt to copy it. It is a frank confession of insignificance to resign oneself to the merely servile activity of reproduction; all archaism is the proof of a deficiency. In "reproduction" nothing but the accidental appearance of a living culture can be evoked. If we were now such as the Shaker was, an art of our own, "adapted to condition," would be indeed essentially like, but assuredly accidentally unlike Shaker art. Unfortunately, we do not desire to be such as the Shaker was; we do not propose to "work as though we had a thousand years to live, and as though we were to die tomorrow" (p. 12). Just as we desire peace but not the things that make for peace, so we desire art but not the things that make for art. We put the cart before the horse. *Il pitorre pingere se stesso*; we have the art that we deserve. If the sight of it puts us to shame, it is with ourselves that the re-formation must begin. A drastic transvaluation of accepted values is required. With the re-formation of man, the arts of peace will take care

of themselves. Shaker rule and Shaker furniture cannot be used as the blueprints of a future social and artistic Utopia: they only remind us "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and these things shall be added unto you." We need precisely to be thus re-minded; but we are not very likely to listen until our civilization, already bent low by its own weight, has been finally destroyed by a few more "wars to end war."

Consider the Lilies is again an interpretation of works of art in terms of the ideas expressed in them. The book is essentially an iconography of the traditional art of the Pennsylvania Germans: the "fractur" art of the Ephrata community. The author is truly a scholar in his field. But before we can fully grasp the significance of such a book, some misapprehensions must be corrected. Our author rightly calls this art a "folklore," but we are shocked to find that he identifies the "unplumbed depths of the folk-soul" with the "unsystematic world-view of a proletarian people" (p. 11, cf. p. 172); he seems to think that "proletarian" means "rooted to the soil" (p. 40). "Proletarian" could more suitably be applied to jazz and the arts of Hollywood: *proletarian*, "that hideous word, coined in contempt and applied in contumely, which no man would use of himself if he knew what it meant . . . with its ugly and vulgar political association," as has recently been said in another context.² This is not the art of a mob, but like all other folk art, an art of spiritually aristocratic origins that has been transmitted alive by peoples whose "simplicity" has nothing to do with the "ignorance" of "lower classes" on the one hand or with the academic "knowledge" of a bourgeois culture on the other, but is just that of a humanity that had not yet been miseducated. And all this our author really knows very well; for he explains this art at every step with reference to the tradition of Jacob Behmen and his sources rooted in Neo-Platonic metaphysics (and that Behmen was a shoemaker, in the same way has nothing to do with the aristocratic quality of the doctrine he transmits).

Our author would like to think of Pennsylvania German as an "original" art. In the proper sense of the word, it is, of course, original, as all traditional art is original, and academic art is not. It is for him an "independent" art because "any school-boy with imagination . . . and any school-girl with roaming pen and itching paint-box can soon make the designs found on the *fractur* and the pottery." This is neither here nor there; as little as this might equally be said of the *alpana* designs of Bengal. Tradition and "dependence" do not, as our author seems to think, imply a "following blindly and in some strange inhuman fashion a mode of design deeply rooted in the unconscious mind of the race" (p. 36). Designs such as this have their roots in the *super-conscious* mind of the race; and it is "When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, [that] then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest" (Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, p. 65). A folk art, such as this is rightly called in the sense that it is, or was, the possession of the whole folk irrespective of rank, represents not only an ideological continuity during a given period, but one of which the roots are prehistoric and the variants world-wide: there is nothing peculiar in German Pennsylvania art, on the contrary it is essentially human, and the more we recognized that it says again what had been said before history began, the more its true humanity appears.

On the other hand the quality of Mr Stoudt's positive contributions to the understanding of *fractur* is of a high

2. Pennsylvania Germans were not factory hands. "It is obvious that you cannot have hordes of factory hands unless you have hordes of proletarians—that is to say, hordes of people with no economic independence, people who own nothing but their power and the power of their children to labour" (Eric Gill in *Journ. Roy. Soc. Arts*, June 17, 1938, p. 750).

order. A striking example of his iconographic intuition can be cited in his discussion of the diamond motif as it appears on stove plates (in this connection he quotes very aptly, p. 41, Clement of Alexandria "who urged the Christians to ornament their household utensils with the accepted symbols of Christ"). Starting from the designation of Christ as "Eckstein" (Alexander Mach, following Math. XXI.42, Luke XX.17 and Eph. II.20) "he realised that the word for diamond was the same as for corner-stone." The connections of these ideas are, in fact, deeper and more universal than Mr. Stoudt has suspected, and we have dealt with some of them in an article recently published in *Speculum*.

It is in the title of the book, however, that its character is most clearly stated, for, as the author explains: "The devices and motifs common to our Pennsylvania decorative arts are artistic representations of Scriptural phrases . . . The lily, the rose, the pearl of great price, the corner-stone (diamond, *Eckstein*) that the builders rejected, the Virgin Sophia (Wisdom), the beloved who feeds on lilies, the turtle-doves, and many other devices, are simple drawings of scriptural phrases . . . This is the thesis of the present book and this is our approach to Pennsylvania German art (p. 31) . . . The answer to any puzzling device can be found either by diligent reading of Scripture or else by attention to the stream of thought from which our ancestors derived much of their thinking . . . [For] the devices on our pieces, ranging from barns to butter-molds, are graphic representations of Scriptural figures of speech" (pp. 76, 77). And by a rigorous collation of the devices with the texts of the Bible and of Pennsylvania German hymnology and the school of Tauler and Behmen, Mr. Stoudt makes it clear that "If we are to really understand this art we too must be able to see in Roses of Sharon and in Lilies of the Valley the answer to life's great enigma . . . no matter how foreign to our modern way of thinking it may be" (pp. 77, 21). It should be impossible to ignore a statement of this sort, supported as it is by a rigorous and objective comparison of the devices themselves with what may be called their literary prescriptions. The excellent association of devices and texts on pp. 15, 132, 133 may be remarked.

But *fraktur* art was not only an art of symbolic devices applied to useful objects by way of consecration. The Ephrata artists produced amongst other things what are almost the only illuminated manuscripts that have been made by Europeans in America; amongst these are some beautiful hymnals with words and music. Some were illustrated by such drawings as the remarkable and Blake-like Baptism reproduced on p. 263. The student should not fail to consider the cultural significance of the whole of Part V, entitled "Illustration of Pennsylvania German Designs from Taufscheins to Tombstones and from Barns to Buttermolds." Because it ought to be remembered in our classrooms that there are conditions under which culture, "the quality of being cultivated according to your way and purpose of living" (Eric Gill, *loc. cit.*, italics mine) is practically an impossibility. There is not much use in teaching an "art" that cannot be applied. Our ways and purposes of living are not only in themselves incompatible with culture, but destructive of any culture with which they come into contact, and to this the culture of the Pennsylvania Germans offered no exception: "When the industrial revolution drove the manufacture of these necessary objects into factories where mass production was in order, then these home crafts on which our art depended disappeared. The commercial potteries with their standardized products caused the slip-decorators to stop firing their kilns. The cotton-gin and the flax-blight killed spinning, weaving, and stitching in the home. The printing presses and the invention of colored lithography, especially the popular Currier and Ives prints, drove our hand illuminators out of business. Indeed, the story of the rise of the Industrial Revolution is the story of the decline of

Pennsylvania German art. One exception must be made: the decorating of barns survived, for barns are a bit hard to make in factories" (pp. 41, 42). Thus was an American standard of living reduced to its present average level.

Mr. Eaton's *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands* repeats the sordid tale. These handicrafts were "an integral part of the culture of the Southern Highlands, that vast and for so long isolated region of the Appalachian Mountains which begins with the Virginias and extends into northern Georgia and Alabama." More lately, "the mail-order catalogues of Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, known in the mountains as 'the wish-books,' have given real glimpses of modern life, especially to the younger people, and have affected profoundly, though sometimes artificially, their surroundings, their dress, and their mode of living" (p. 29). In a large part of the book these handicrafts, which even now survive to a surprising degree, are described in detail. Mrs. Ulmann's photographs of the craftsmen themselves are by no means so admirable as the author believes; with such admirable material, it would hardly have been possible to do less.

The author realizes that every kind of work can be judged in two ways, "one by the product itself, as is now done, the other by the effect of the work on the producer." Incidentally, it is hardly true that products are judged for what they are; they are judged almost exclusively by their saleability, which is by no means a synonym for quality. It is true that the "effect on the producer" is hardly ever considered: if it is ever mentioned by the sociologist, it is in the same breath with the defeatist cliché, "the machine is here to stay," and the unexpressed thought that it would be folly even to attempt to control invention in the interests of humanity. The ultimate purpose of the book is to foster a revival of the lost industries and to provide a market for the products. But can such a market, supported by the good will of a few, be anything but a hothouse plant, so long as our ways and purposes of living remain what they are?

"What has New Guinea to offer to the eye of the artist and the lover of fine work?" "It is clear that art in New Guinea is not divorced from daily life; for a proper understanding of the native wood-carving on buildings alone it is essential to take account of the system of agricultural economics, the chieftainship, the clan organization, the village arrangements, the totemic ideas, and the ritual practices of the people . . . the general principle of tribal art as an expression of complex social values is of basic importance." "What is the position of the native artist in relation to his conformity to the local style?" "In nearly all 'savage' art the artist is essentially and foremost a craftsman [*Arts circa factibilia*!]. The things that he makes . . . are meant to be used by someone . . . the fact that things are so often made by a man for his own use, or to the direct order of a client, not merely in the hope of attracting a purchaser, tends to keep the artist close to the forms which experience has proved will work . . . The superior craftsman receives his meed of admiration and reward, but there is no self-conscious separation of himself and his products from the utilitarian sphere of life, no divorce of the artist from his public, no 'man in the street' who regards the pure aesthetic of his tribe as an esoteric mystery. Mystery there may be, as regards craft secrets, handed down in families and reinforced with magic spells, but that is a feature of the general culture of the tribe, in which the ordinary citizen has his own share of private rights and privileges. There is on the other hand no vaguely communistic sense of working for the public good. There is a sense of responsibility to others, and incentive to do good work, but these are motivated by personal pride, social rivalry and a desire for economic gain. An interesting fact is that this deference to traditional style and to the opinions of others has not seemed to inhibit the artist. It is as if freed from the necessity of always having to create something of novel design in order to capture the

public attention he could concentrate on the development of variations within the traditional bounds and on the refinement of his technique. Certain it is that when the culture of these people has been disturbed by European influence in nearly every case the quality of their art has begun to fall off... even though by European agencies the craftsmen are provided with much more efficient tools than before. Though new elements of design are introduced, in wood-carvings, for example, the work becomes flatter, less bold, the relief is lower, the execution is more careless and the more difficult types of design and of handicraft tend to disappear."

No less excellent is the discussion of the character of the art considered in connection with the modern "appreciation" of abstract art and interest in the psycho-analysis of art,—"The Freudian dogma of equating the savage with the child is taken as sufficient, the primitive is alleged to be free from the shackles which hamper civilized man, and to be capable of expressing directly in his art his instinctive impulses. The issue is not so simple. A Sepik mask is of course the product of an individual mentality, with many elements interwoven. But it is not simply the projection of a crude unconscious upon the material. It is largely the overt expression of conscious adherence to a cultural tradition which embodies a style of workmanship, a specifically enjoined manner of representing religious and social ideas. At the present time Surrealism appears to be psychologically very interesting³ but aesthetically negligible, and it is doubtful if it can ever add anything to our understanding of primitive art. In fact, objects of native workmanship in such a context are robbed of their true meaning and are endowed with an alien set of values." One could not have a better illustration than is provided by this book of the superiority of the anthropological to the psychological and aesthetic approaches to an unfamiliar art. The distinction has been admirably defined by Herbert Spinden (*Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, October, 1935, pp. 168, 169). "The appraisal of primitive specimens by esthetes and by ethnologists discloses different principles of criticism. The esthetic interest is often limited to what a piece of Negro sculpture, for instance, does to a white man's eye, how it stirs his emotions and imagination, what it has to offer in demonstration of new shapes and planes to persons skilled in the technique of wood carving... The field worker, on the other hand... has been interested... in statements of the native artists concerning use and meaning⁴... The difference in these two lines of interest is quite understandable and amount to this: is the art of primitive people to be regarded as a white man's oyster or a black man's culture?"

In the same way for the art of the Marquesas Islands. "En fait, on ne saurait, aux îles Marquises, séparer les manifestations esthétiques des indigènes de la trame entière de leur civilisation; on ne peut pas considérer leurs arts comme des phénomènes indépendants." If we also bear in mind the physical beauty and perfect health of the South Sea islander before the coming of white men, one cannot but marvel at the impertinence (irrelevance) of our psychological and aesthetic interpretations of their art; it would appear that such approaches are as far as possible removed from our pretended ideal of scientific objectivity.

Here in the Marquesas Islands there survived in full force the conception of manufacture as a rite, consciously imitative of the formative work of the Father by whom the earthly, feminine material was given form in the beginning. When the work was begun, a chorus of old men or women "psalmodiaient les incantations sacrées relatant la genèse

et la croissance du monde et des hommes... S'agissait-il de construire une maison? Les matériaux personnifiés étaient invités à collaborer... Construisait-on une pirogue? On récapitulait le processus d'un bout à l'autre, exactement tel que l'avait suivi Motuhaiki, le premier constructeur de pirogues... La psalmodie se termine en conférant solennellement son nom à chaque partie de la pirogue... Ces incantations causatives passaient pour être non moins importantes que le travail proprement dit. En outre... il était indispensable d'isoler l'ouvrage de toute influence contaminatrice, afin de conserver intacte l'atmosphère surnaturelle engendrée par l'incantation. Aussi élevait-on une maison spéciale pour y exécuter le travail. Elle était clôturée de *tapu*... Les ouvriers et leurs aides, logeant et travaillant dans ce local sacré, se consacraient de tout cœur et très solennellement à l'ouvrage entrepris, en se concentrant sur cette tâche unique, et en fermant autant que possible leurs sens aux distractions du monde extérieur... ils... observaient une continence rigoureuse pendant toute la durée du travail; ils faisaient même leur propre cuisine, afin éviter que les mains non consacrées ne touchassent à leur nourriture." At the close of the operation both artist and artefact had to be formally desecrated and thus returned from this "niveau transcendant" to that of secular activities. Even the minor arts were thus practised in a sacred precinct. In all this it is perfectly clear that just as in India (and elsewhere) the artist operated as an initiated yogin, only returning to his worldly self when the task had been completed; there is an inseparable linking together of art and sacrifice. This whole theory of artistic creation belongs to a universal metaphysic, and in all its details of no less importance than are the formal designs themselves for a research in origins, of which the major problems are outlined in a concluding chapter.

We cannot fail to connect the character of the art itself with the conditions under which it was produced. We must not misunderstand these conditions. Strange as it may appear to us, "au milieu de cette atmosphère religieuse, les arts et les métiers s'exerçaient dans un esprit très sain, très naturel, nullement bon dieusard. Tout travail était une entreprise communale, exigeant la coopération de beaucoup d'hommes de la tribu; ils y participaient dans un esprit de fête... Si étrangères que nous puissions paraître les conventions de la magie, du *tapu*, et du travail communal, nous pouvons toutefois en estimer les avantages pratiques. Le système avait pour effet d'établir une règle de travail; un effort concentré, soutenu depuis le commencement de la fabrication jusqu'à son achèvement était suivi d'un repos et d'une détente. Tout étant disposé pour le mieux en vue de son travail, l'artisan n'était détourné de son activité par aucun effort extérieur, par aucune distraction: sa profession reconnue comme partie intégrante de l'activité communale lui assurait la sécurité économique et un rang honoré au sein de la tribu; et, sans discuter l'efficacité de la magie, nous devons reconnaître l'excellence de l'éducation professionnelle, qui permettait à l'artiste de se représenter exactement son oeuvre avant d'en entreprendre l'exécution... Les procédés de tout art étant rituellement déterminés, et les dessins particuliers fixés par la tradition, la capacité d'un artiste se mesurait essentiellement à l'exactitude de son savoir et de son exécution... Même de nos jours, alors que les incantations sont interdites (!)⁵ et oubliées, et que l'on embrouille le nom et l'application des dessins, il arrive que l'artisan, si peu entouré, si peu encouragé qu'il soit, jette une écuelle au rebut parce que ces outils grossiers—les moitiés d'une paire de ciseaux—ont dévié et gâté la perfection de l'ouvrage. L'obligation d'une mémoire sûre et d'une main exercée a fait que la perfection technique demeure l'idéal de l'artisan des Marquises.⁶... Formés à l'école

3. I.e., as pathology is interesting to the patient who is "enjoying poor health."

4. In this connection, notice should be taken of the statements of Milton and Dante, respectively "natives" of England and Italy, as to the purpose and significance of their works, which we treat as *belles lettres*.

5. By the ignorant and barbarous agents of "civilization," like those who have here in America attempted to suppress the ritual arts of the American Indians.

6. Just as was still the case in Ceylon thirty years ago.

pratique de l'apprentissage, ces maîtres recevaient le titre de *tuhuna* avec le suffixe de leur art à chacun. . . . Beaucoup d'entre eux, très versatiles, connaissaient plusieurs arts, ou même tous les arts, et on leur donnait le titre de *tuhuna nui*, grand maître. Ces professions étaient accessibles à n'importe quel homme, et certaines d'entre elles aux femmes également. . . . Les ouvrages de ces *tuhuna* très habiles embellissaient les objets les plus ordinaires de la vie courante non moins que les parures les plus estimées ou les symboles les plus vénérés. Chaque foyer était en mesure de subvenir au moins en partie à son équipement, et grâce à une pratique perfectionnée de l'échange des cadeaux, il pouvait acquérir toute espèce d'objet fabriqué dans l'archipel."

It is rather difficult to see in what respect ways and purposes of living such as these could have been improved upon, whether from the standpoint of the producer or that of the consumer, both of whom were equally interested in the quality of the product: or in what respect these conditions of living were not incomparably superior to any of those accepted by the industrial democracies or totalitarian imperialisms of today; nor can these reflections be dissociated from a disconcerting recollection of the fact that in the Marquesas Islands, "toute leur technique fait partie de leur relations avec le surnaturel."

But in 1842 the French took possession of the islands: their culture was doomed; and now, as Mr. Handy remarks "les insulaires qui étaient jadis les plus beaux et les plus virils de la Polynésie tropicale, et qui pouvaient compter quelque 75,000 âmes, ne sont plus qu'une poignée d'hommes" and Mrs. Handy continues "Bien que les aspects extérieurs de leur culture se soient presque effacés sous l'action dévastatrice de l'homme blanc, il n'empêche pas que beaucoup d'insulaires des Marquises, pris individuellement, sont encore aujourd'hui l'incarnation même de ces idées qui engendrèrent une sculpture impressionnante et un art décoratif plein de verdure au temps de leur vitalité passée." Thus if anything survives, it is *in spite of* all those modern activities that are sometimes spoken of as "educational" and "civilizing." The Marquesas islanders would be less than men if it could not even now be said of them that "ils méprisent les institutions étrangères, qu'elles soient administratives, commerciales, ou religieuses."

Professor MacMahon's book seems to be addressed to those who are to be brought into contact with "art" for the first time in their lives, and only gradually builds up its approach to the essential thesis of the distinction of "art" from "aesthetics," the distinction, that is, of the science of making things by art from the science of the sensational enjoyment of things so made. This enjoyment is in no way a judgment of the work of art: it is simply a matter of more or less educated and refined taste. Aesthetics, then, the science of sensation, rightly claimed by the psychologist as belonging to his field of experimental science rather than to philosophy, is not the science of beauty, but the science of preferences; and these may be and sometimes are preferences for what is not beautiful. If beauty is indeed the attractive power of perfection in kind, it does not follow that all that seems to anyone attractive can therefore be called beautiful.

Professor MacMahon is considering works of art exclusively as "patterns of sensation," in other words, he is considering only modern works of art, or ancient works to be approached as if they had been produced from our point of view: and this despite his warning that "We must always be careful not to inject elements that are peculiar to our pattern of living into a situation that was quite different" (p. 262). What is, in this connection, most peculiar to our pattern of living, though only one aspect of its *senti-mental-ity*, is precisely this habit of considering works of art only as "patterns of sensation," and consequent preoccupation with their aesthetic surfaces and acceptance of their unintelligibility. Professor MacMahon is indeed careful to warn us that it is *not* "the distinguishing trait of art that

it expresses or communicates emotion." It is not, perhaps, a work of art, if it cannot do this: but let us not overlook that an elegant mathematical equation can be the vehicle of and can evoke an intense emotion in the mathematician (who is also, traditionally, an "artist"). Informal things can serve a purpose without being works of art (a paddle is a work of art, but not so a shapeless piece of wood with which one makes shift when one's paddle has been lost): works of art have always a purpose, but it is not for this reason that they are works of art; they are works of art in virtue of their *formality*.

Now "form" is nothing but the imitable aspect of "idea." It is, in other words, their ideal quality (in the strictly philosophical sense of the word "ideal") that distinguishes works of art from such informal productions as are mere imitations of visual effects, or merely the unrestrained expressions of a too sensitive soul, or mere bodies of matter that can somehow be made to serve a purpose. It is even probable that the ideas of things, entertained primarily as such, have been the source of all useful inventions: Forrer, for example, concludes that "L'invention du char est due aux idées religieuses que l'homme préhistorique au début de l'âge du métal s'est faites sur le soleil, sa nature et ses qualités bienfaisantes" (*Les chars culturels préhistoriques*, 1932, p. 119). In any case it is certain that most of the "decorative" patterns that we now call "art forms" or "orders" (and really think of as a sort of upholstery or millinery applied to objects which might otherwise seem rather unpresentable) had once a double bearing, at once cognitive and functional, and that as Andrae expresses it "the sensible forms, in which there was at first a polar balance of the physical and metaphysical, have been more and more voided of content on their way down to us; so we say, This is an 'ornament'" (*Die ionische Säule*, 1933, p. 65). An excellent example of such a pattern is afforded by the louvre and "eye" of a dome (see my "Symbolism of the Dome," in *IHQ*, XIV, 1-56).

Our modern separation of meaning from function is characteristic of what Walter Shewring has aptly called a "civilization of divorce, delighting to put asunder what nature and reason have joined together," or as I have called it, a civilization of "split personalities." The divorce is one that "primitive" man could hardly have made. In such a traditional language as Sanskrit the one world *artha* is equally "meaning" and "value." What Professor MacMahon's book really amounts to (and this is its chief merit) is a devastating criticism of our academic methods of teaching the "appreciation of art" (i.e., of "things made by art," for we misuse language when we speak of objects as "art"). We treat the aesthetic surfaces of works of art as ends in themselves, because we are taught to think of them only as provocative of reactions and not as referents. As Professor MacMahon has expressed this (in correspondence), "all the contemporary classification called 'art' really guarantees is patterns of sensation produced by a technique connected with drawing. Significance and value are discovered in such a work by a mind directed to it. Its proper meanings do not flow from the principles upon which the classification is established. Those meanings have to be ascertained." So far are our disciplines from assisting the student to any such ascertainments that the meanings of works of art are either completely ignored or treated as the incidental occasions for stylistic expression. In all traditional art (e.g., Egyptian, early Greek, Indian, Mayan, mediaeval, and folk art) what matters in the first place is what is said or made, and secondly that it be effectively said or made (Croce's "Art is expression"), and almost not at all who spoke or wrought or with what personal accent. To have reversed this order, to have interpreted works of art almost exclusively as patterns of sensation and as expressions of the individual artist's personality, directly inhibits any serious understanding of any traditional art (our own art may be, as some of its advocates have assured us that it is, unintelligible).

"Dante and Milton claimed to be didactic; we consider the claim a curious weakness in masters of style whose true but unconscious mission was to regale us with 'aesthetic emotion.' We are more at home with romantic verse and genteel essays. . . . If our bookish education is not to defeat its own ends . . . we must give up our double standard of fine writing and useful writing, and accept the single standard of good writing" (Walter Shewring, in *Integration*, Vol. II, 1938, pp. 11-12). What is said here of one art is true of all, and no more true of oratory than it is of architecture. "The good man, who is intent on the best when he speaks . . . is just like any other craftsman" (Plato). We must give up (and where should this renunciation first be made, if not in our universities and museums?) our double standard of fine making and useful making, and consider only well making (we cannot, of course, know whether a thing has been well said or made unless we clearly understand what was to be said or made). If we dare not take this step, it is partly because there has already grown up a vested interest in the obscurities of modern aesthetics, and partly because, in the last analysis, well making is a question of manufacture for use versus manufacture for profit, which last has become so much a second nature in us that we would rather sell indigestible food to our neighbors and munitions to our enemies than not sell at all.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

M. K. ČIURLIONIS, DER LITAUISCHE MAIER UND MUSIKER.
By Nikolaj Worobiov. x, 95 pp.; one color-plate, 47 figs.
Kaunas and Leipzig, Verlag der Buchhandlung Pribacis,
1938.

An historical view of the art of the late nineteenth century and the pre-war decade is in process of crystallization. Not that we deliberately seek to form one; the simple fact that time passes and life changes make us view as objective past what only yesterday was hotly contested present. Soon there will emerge—and there has emerged already—an official pantheon of artists who are entitled to monographs and to references in handbooks. It frequently happens that in this process some significant artists are weeded out and are left for posterity to rediscover. If M. K. Čiurlionis escapes this danger, he will owe his salvation to Worobiov's sympathetic and thorough monograph.

Because of the obscurity of this artist, it may be timely to give here a somewhat greater amount of biographical data than is customary in a book review. Certainly Čiurlionis deserves to escape the oblivion that threatens him. He is virtually unknown in Central and Western Europe, to say nothing about this hemisphere. Lithuanian national pride has, to some extent, brought about this situation. The efforts of his compatriots have secured almost every one of his paintings and drawings for the museum of Vytautas the Great, in Kaunas, Lithuania—a museum, which does not normally appear on the art traveler's schedule. Yet Čiurlionis at his best is a great painter highly original and sincere of vision. In the Čiurlionis Gallery, where the reviewer last saw them, his pictures were subjected to that severest of all tests, the one-man-show. Čiurlionis passes the ordeal surprisingly well, better, in fact, than some of his French or German contemporaries of far greater renown.

The life of Čiurlionis would make a fine novel, a psychological novel *au par* with the drama of Van Gogh. It is hard to avoid this comparison. Čiurlionis, like Vincent, does not start as a painter but is driven to painting as the means of expressing his convictions and his visions. He, too, with the tenacious perseverance of a peasant, learns almost unaided to paint. His notable pictures, like those of Van Gogh, all originate within a very few years of one another. He succumbs to the overpowering, high-strung intensity of his genius and dies in an insane asylum (1911) when only thirty-six years old.

In lives like these is something symptomatic of those times. Both Van Gogh and Čiurlionis are reformers and

prophets trying to counteract the stress and pressure of a mechanized and complicated world, trying to fight for a more deeply conceived, heroic life, trying to discover the real meaning of life and universe. But tempting though it be to do so, the comparison should not be carried too far. Čiurlionis is a cosmic pantheist, not a religious reformer. His background is different not only from that of Van Gogh but also from that of any other Western European painter. Born in 1875 in peasant surroundings, the son of an organist in a Lithuanian village, he made his way as a musician with the support of Polish nobles and achieved high reputation as a musician and composer after studies in Warsaw and Leipzig. With unlimited industry and deadly seriousness he devoured European literature, philosophy, and science. His favorite writers were Dostoyevski, E. A. Poe, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and the Scandinavian playwrights, a circumstance significant in that it reveals the romantic and fantastic side of his personality. More significant is his unamateurish absorption in the problems of the universe, manifested in his ardent devotion to astronomy. His deeply-rooted connection with his race was manifested by his leadership in the Lithuanian struggle against the Russian oppression and by his pioneering activity on the long-neglected Lithuanian folk song and art.

From earliest childhood Čiurlionis lived in contact with nature, and to Nature as a last and final resource he was to turn again and again in later life. One might almost say that he absorbed the enchanting, silent woods, the high horizons, the mysterious lakes of Lithuania to record them in painting in terms of his own experience.

He was driven to painting by his visions, which were at once visual, musical, and cosmic. Teachers and influences, first at the Art Academy in Warsaw, later in the artistic circle of Mir Iskustva (World of Art) in St. Petersburg, contributed their share to his painting but hardly moulded his essential and individual qualities. To be sure, the Classicistic, exotic, and daemonic fantasies of Böcklin, Munch, Klinger, and Redon; the calligraphic artistries of Beardsley; the retrospective and luxurious art of Mir Iskustva (Rubel Roerich, and the stage painters); and much of other strained and exaggerated *fin de siècle* refinement have found an echo in Čiurlionis' paintings. A few of his pictures are somewhat forced and decorative exhibitions legendary and symbolical in character (Flute Player, Snake Sonata, A Composition). What puts him head and shoulders above most of these decadent figures is his sincerity, his genuine scientific penetration of the cosmos, his unsevered connection with the lingering pantheistic nature-worship of Old Lithuania. His early landscapes, simple, almost stylized in form, breathe a quiet dignity. His cosmic paintings (Signs of the Zodiac; the magnificent Sea Sonata; the Green Lightning) have the feeling of immensity of the modern cosmos, and, at the same time, a visionary, personal quality we cannot match unless we go back to German Romanticism and Caspar David Friedrich's Dresden Crucifixion. The "Žemaitian Cemetery" sums up the lyric and legendary element of Lithuanian traditions. In other paintings he anticipates the surrealists in his ambiguous use of realistic forms, and Kandinsky's abstract painting in his static abstractions.

Color, originally a liability, becomes an asset in Čiurlionis' more advanced pictures, not without aid from Japanese prints. Within this advanced group earlier pictures are painted in sensitive gradations of green, yellow, blue, or gray, later in richer, more solid colors. It is color that makes many of his compositions convincing.

Čiurlionis will probably never be rated as one of the epoch-making artists; his art is too limited, too individual, too uneven in its formal expression. But as a painter who fully expressed the mentality of a nation, as a painter who convincingly showed the new universe, he will hold an honorable place in the history of European painting.

His biographer combines intimate knowledge of Lithuania with fine insight into the development of modern Art. He

has gathered all available information and has talked to friends and relatives of Ciurlionis. His vivid narrative unfolds against a wide background depicting the cultural movement of pre-war Russia. His analysis of art is penetrating, his descriptions of art expressive and discriminating. We cannot but concur in Romain Rolland's opinion: "Il était indispensable qu'un tel livre fut écrit; et j'espère qu'il fera pénétrer en Occident le nom et le génie de Ciurlionis."

GEORGE M. A. HANFMAN

THE PAINTING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Milton W. Brown. 96 pp.; 12 pl. New York, The Critics Group, 1938.

Supposing an art critic of the year 2100 undertakes a task similar to the one of the author of our book and writes on "German Painting and the National Socialist Revolution." To his surprise this author would find a relatively meagre group of paintings, at least such of any artistic value, which would deal directly with the political facts of National Socialism. Should he want the essential reaction of the arts, he would have to turn from an analysis of the theme of revolution to a wider drawn research on subject matter in a more general sense and finally proceed to an analysis of style after 1933. He would then discover that men depicted after 1933 would look healthier and more often blue-eyed; women more maidenly and more motherly; children better fed and better clad. In order to represent these exemplary citizens the artist would choose a moderate naturalism, heightened frequently by a symmetrical or heraldic pattern of classicist or Gothic derivation. He would have to state that the formal experimentalism, the imaginative constructivism and the pessimistic nihilism of the pre-1933 period had more or less changed to the thoughtless happiness of trustful children. The critic would then have to proceed to the question of whether he was confronted by an organic growth of style or whether he had to deal with an artificial and willful effort to create a new form which could be considered the adequate expression of the altered political doctrine. Having done so, he would have before him the real material for the problem "Art and Revolution."

Exactly the same questions are valid for the art of the French Revolution. Limiting the analysis to those paintings which deal with the theme of the Revolution, the number of paintings is extremely small. The author of our book is in search of this group, of which he states: "The distinguishing character of French Revolutionary art is its avowed purpose as a social weapon" (p. 93). But if we ask ourselves which artists represent this Revolutionary art, it is only David whom we can name. The Oath at the Tennis Court and The Death of Marat undoubtedly are paintings permeated with the spirit of the revolution and done to serve its cause. But as soon as we look at the Oath of the Horatii, which at its exhibition in 1785 was understood as a republican admonition in Roman disguise, the true historical problem becomes transparent. Is it possible to establish an "art of the French Revolution" because pictures were painted between 1789 and 1795 and explained according to revolutionary doctrine? One may remember the before-mentioned parallel to our own time in order to understand the implications involved. The Oath of the Horatii is a classicist painting in which we can trace the process of compositional clarification by comparing the final picture with its preceding sketches. It is connected with earlier compositions such as the Belisarius (1781), and it leads logically to later creations such as the German Waechter's then famous Hiob (1805). The predecessor as well as the follower belong to the same family in spirit and form, but no one would call them examples of "revolutionary" art. Their common denominator is classical art, in itself a child of the same spirit which in the field of politics finally led to revolution; it is a bourgeois art, moralistic and rational, patriotic and sentimental; or, more briefly, it is

Rousseauian and Winckelmannian. It is an art which shows an evolution quite independent from any actual political event, from the sentimental and erotic to the heroic and the solemn, from the Roman to the Greek, from the Ionian to the Doric and finally back to the Hellenistic. It is true that the French Revolution has influenced classicism and directed it for a while towards the grandiose, the simplified and the laconic, but it worked with and on material that had been developed by the Classicist movement. I come therefore to the conclusion that there is really no "painting of the French Revolution," but just one great revolutionary artist, David, and the classicist paintings done in the Revolutionary period.

This observation can be further verified by an analysis of the so-called "Revolutionary architecture" which the author nowhere uses for parallels. As we know since the research of Emil Kaufmann and the undersigned, "the architecture of reason" appears for the first time in the work of the royalistic architect Claude Nicolas Ledoux, who conceived his "architecture considéré sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation" (published in 1804) in the years between 1768 and 1789.¹ This indeed "revolutionary" architecture, which is reflected in many projects in Germany and France between 1785 and 1810² originates in the era of "pure reason" and that is before the French Revolution. Neither in architecture nor in sculpture or painting has the Revolution created a style of its own, and the problem arises with this statement whether we should create such titles as "Die Kunst der Hohenstaufenzeit," or "The Painting of the French Revolution."

We should really not sacrifice our most illuminating discovery in the field of art history, put forward by Riegl, Wickhoff and his school, that the history of style reflects the "Geistesgeschichte" independent from any theory of cultural or political milieu, as an entity in itself, registering like a seismograph the slightest commotion of the human mind. Mr. Brown's marxistic approach to the history of art is just as "reactionary" as the not less materialistic approach of nationalism because both explain creation by its milieu, something we had just overcome in the achievements of the Viennese school.

These general remarks seemed necessary although the book itself is a small and unpretentious publication. However, the author explains his case with remarkable transluence. Based mainly on the important source material of the "procès verbaux de l'Académie Royale (1648-1793), the critics of the "salon," and the studies of Jean Locquin and L. Hauteceur, he deals, in four very illuminating chapters, with the "economic-social background," the "cultural-aesthetic background," the "artist and the revolution" and "aesthetics and criticism." Most valuable material is presented to such problems as the connection between subject matter and patron;³ very interesting, for instance, is the footnote on p. 77: "Unlike David's other works of this period, the Helen and Paris was done for the Count of Artois, which explains not only the nature of the subject but also the softness of style." Another problem treated is subject matter and residence of the artist, "the international style of Rome." The social position of the painters according to their subject matters is reviewed, the relationship between artwork and market analysed. We see the rise of the "unknown market" of the modern exposition, open to all artists, a phenomenon which the author parallels with the "natural status in bourgeois society" (p. 29). Although the French Revolution works politically and intellectually for the improvement of the situation of the artist,

1. Cf. Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Courbusier*, Vienna, 1933.

Alfred Neumeyer, *The Idea of the Monument in the Classical Era*, in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, October, 1938.

2. For the most important example, Friedrich Gillys plans for a monument for Frederick the Great in Berlin, see Alste Oncken, *Gillys*, Berlin, 1934.

3. Cf. p. 5.

the discouraging statement is honestly made: "Without doubt the side of the Revolution was in a historical sense the progressive side, but the economic consequences were immediately counter to the welfare of the artists in general . . ." (p. 33). This statement is finally worked up to the conclusion: "The fact remains however, that at the very birth of its existence bourgeois society revealed the inherent contradiction within its structure, in its demand that art depicts its ideals without any reciprocal effort to create a constant patronage" (p. 43). On the other hand "to place art on a national subsidy was to contradict the fundamental concepts of bourgeois society" (p. 44). The facts in this statement clearly visualized by such thinking artists as Cornelius or Van Gogh, lead from the days of the French Revolution right into the problems of our own time. And here it is where we see the most productive contribution of the author. He reveals the sociological conditions under which "modern art" has developed and there is indeed a great lack of projects like the one of Mr. Brown.

Thus the author's book represents a valuable, well-written and well-informed analysis of the intercourse between economic conditions and painting in the era of the French Revolution. What it does not do is to explain the essentialities of this painting, its style. And this style does not belong to the French Revolution.

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ROMANTICISM AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL. By Agnes Addison. New York, Richard R. Smith, 1938.

The purpose of this relatively brief work seems to be to give a handbooklike survey on "Gothic taste" on the Continent and in the United States. Its usefulness lies mainly in the printed list of buildings constructed in this manner and in the bibliography at the end of the book. A new element may also be seen in the wider scope of its analysis, which includes the Romantic examples as well as the Revivalist Gothic from the period after 1820, and continues up to the College Gothic of the present time. But upon what leading ideas is this analysis based? The author leaves us without any answer in regard to the architectonic principles, the technical devices, and the ornamental tendencies prevalent during the period between 1750 and the modern era. Nor does she consider the relationship between the general principles of Post Baroque architecture and this specific taste. Gothic architecture is taken as a granted definition and no effort is made to examine its imitators in regard to their tectonic validity, their imaginative planning or their interpretation of space. And even the word "revival" asks for an analysis of its validity. Lewis Mumford has pointed out the very problem in his recent book *The Culture of Cities*. "In the country-side, there was no real interruption between gothic building and neo-gothic building. The English provincial builder carried into the eighteenth century traditional modes of construction that educated gentlemen, ignorant of the life outside their circle, were beginning to revive as decoration and amusement, in the fashion of Sir Horace Walpole. Even in the New World, the older medieval laws of the market remained in force in the towns" (page 63).

In short, the book fails as a contribution to research in the history of art.

The text improves in its discussion of the relationship of architecture and literature. Much has been produced since Eastlake's famous book on the *History of the Gothic Revival* (1872). For England, Kenneth Clark has written his brilliant *Gothic Revival* (1929). For France, René Lanson *Le goût du moyen-âge en France au 18^e siècle* (1926) presents a brief but sound study of the problem. German literature on the subject by Tietze (*Wiener Jahrbuch*, 1911) and Neumeyer (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1930) has escaped the attention of the writer.

Miss Addison begins with a chapter on Romanticism and the Romantic writer, important as a background for the

theme, since the Gothic revival is a child of the Romantic movement. There is a useful survey on the meaning of the word "Romanticism" in its present literary interpretation. But already here a confusion of stylistic and literary terms leads to a misinterpretation such as in the discussion of French eighteenth century sentimentality: "The name generally given to this sensibility (that of Greuze and Chardin) is Rococo, which is very similar to romanticism but has the fundamental difference of being avowedly artificial" (p. 14). In conclusion we learn from this chapter that Classicism is the style of the political ideals of democracies, whereas "the vogue for the medieval was in harmony with the growing nationalism of the period" (page 21). The following chapter on the English revival in no way adds anything new to Kenneth Clark's book, but may be useful for the student not informed with this work.

In the first part of chapter four on "Gothic in Modern France," the author reviews Lanson's book (misspelled on page 100) but unfortunately does not include in her list of French examples on page 158 the early buildings mentioned by Lanson (the Gothic ruin in the Park of Ermenonville and Gabriel's plans for the Cathedral of Orleans). The author continues Lanson's report however by adding the later development from the historian's Gothic to the "structural" Gothic of Violet le Duc, and it is here that useful material is presented.

In its literary analysis, the chapter on German developments repeats once more what Lionello Venturi has written on "Romanticism and the Middle Ages" in *The History of Art Criticism* (1936); but the discussion on architecture is misleading through the omission of examples of the Sentimental Gothic of the Eighteenth century. The neo-Gothic castle at Woerlitz (c. 1785), the Löwenburg at Cassel, the Pfaueninsel near Potsdam, and the publication of the Marienburg Castle in Ostpreussen by Frick and Gilly (1799) are not even mentioned.

The following paragraph on the Gothic revival in the United States does give an exact survey of the various interpretations of a continental style which, though not indigenous to the country, is much beloved for its ideological connotations.

In her last chapter the author sums up in precise formulations the development from eighteenth century "adaptation" to the scientific approach apparent after 1820. She shows the relationship between the secular revival of the eighteenth century and the ecclesiastical revival of the Anglican church in the nineteenth century. This religious implication coincides with a national one. Nations romantically and thus historically in search of themselves find in Gothic buildings a proud symbol of their past.

All these observations however are not new to the historian of the period. What then could have been done to justify such a study in an already well-explored field? Two things at least might have been possible: either a stylistic analysis of neo-Gothic architecture (how interesting is for instance Decker's and Halfpenny's Rococo-Gothic form examined from this point of view); or a penetrating research in the architectural archives and magazines of London, Paris and Berlin, where, in the prize competitions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the war between the Classical and the Gothic styles is ardently fought in every type of production from wall paper to tomb monuments and prison façades. Later research will undoubtedly still add much to our present knowledge in this field. In the latter part of the century, the problem arises whether iron construction has determined the character of the Gothic railway stations and libraries or whether the Gothic costume may be used only as a sham façade.

Miss Addison's book is lacking in a philosophically and, unfortunately also, a stylistically constructive quality and is not enriching in its historical research. However, as a handbook, it has some merits.

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